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Plan of the Town, & Fortifications of Gibraltar



Rock Guard

Apoth Hill in Barbary



The NORTH VIEW of GIBRALTAR, from the Isthmus towards Spain.

T H E
NAVAL HISTORY
O F
G R E A T B R I T A I N ;

FROM THE
Earliest TIMES to the Rising of the Parliament in 1779.

DESCRIBING THE
Origin and Progress of the British Power at Sea ;—the Ex-
tension of its Commerce ;—its Foreign Conquests ;—and
the Establishment and Growth of its Colonies.

INCLUDING THE
NAVAL EXPEDITIONS AND SEA-FIGHTS

In every Period of the
E N G L I S H H I S T O R Y ;

And particularly recording the glorious Achievements in the
L A S T W A R .

A L S O T H E
Lives and Actions of those illustrious Commanders and Navigators,
who have contributed to spread the Fame, and increase the Power of the
B R I T I S H E M P I R E .

Particularly designed to excite in the Breasts of Britons, at this important
Crisis, a noble Ardour, to emulate such bright Examples ; and, by their
Firmness and Valour, to secure to themselves and Posterity, that envied
Pre-eminence which their Enemies have in vain attempted to subvert.
With a great Number of beautiful COPPER - PLATES, and
accurate MAPS.

By FREDERIC HERVEY, Esq; and OTHERS.

*Island of bliss ! amid the subject seas
That thunder round thy rocky coasts, set up
At once the wonder, terror, and delight
Of distant nations ; whose remotest shores
Can soon be shaken by thy naval arm,
Not to be shook thyself, but all assaults
Baffling, as thy hoar-cliffs the loud sea-waves.*

THOMSON.

I N F I V E V O L U M E S .

V O L . III.

L O N D O N :

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M D C C L X X I X .

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P R E F A C E.

THE period of the English History, with which we closed our Second Volume, must be considered as the most important in the annals of this country : perhaps history can no where furnish us with a revolution at once so sudden, so peaceable, and so permanent, as that produced by the accession of King William.

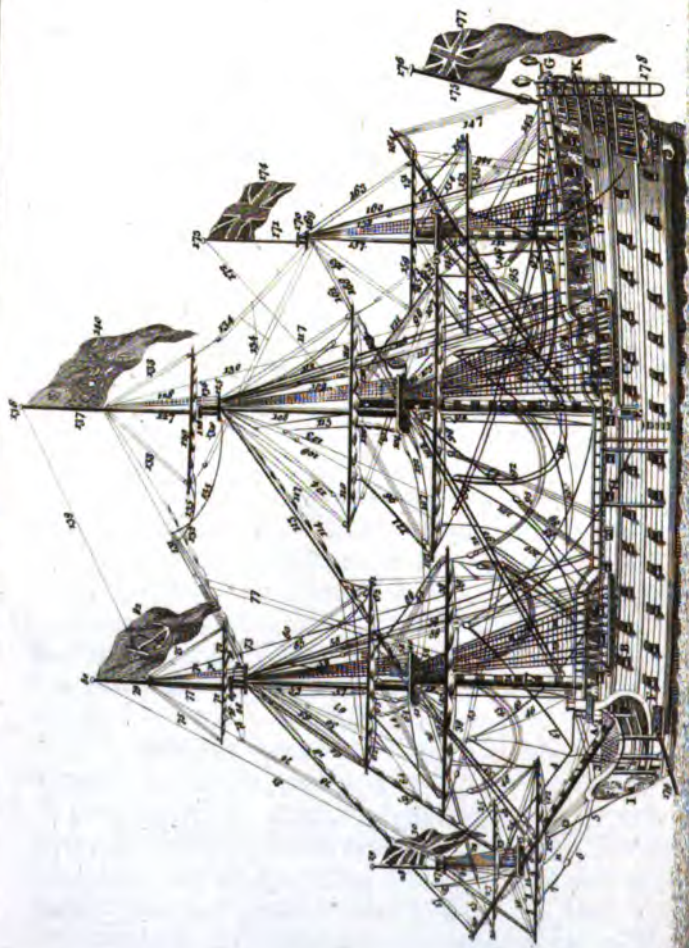
The four Kings of the House of Stuart may be justly said to have been unacquainted with the true art of governing, although remarkably tenacious of every particle of power. It was their peculiar infelicity, to overlook the genius of the people whom they were appointed to rule ; and whilst they claimed as their due, all the prerogatives assumed by the most despotic of their predecessors, they saw not the advances which the nation had made in knowledge and refinement. The early dawn of science opened to the view of Englishmen their natural rights : successful commerce had given wealth to individuals ; and a people that grow great by their own exertions, soon contract a disrelish for the doctrine of passive obedience to their prince.

The destructive reign of Charles the Second, it must be owned, caused the benefits of the Revolution to come to us, allayed by some weighty evils : measures repugnant to the most valuable interests of the nation, and persisted in through a course of five-and-twenty years, had spread a general spirit

of discontent, which, in after times, burst forth into all the fury of party-rage, and civil dissention : add to this, that the enormous power of France, which the evil genius of this *British* king had cherished instead of repressed, threatened destruction to a kingdom debilitated by faction. It was no less than an Herculean labour, for William to oppose, at its maturity, a power which should have been circumscribed on its first advances : hence arose that pernicious concomitant of government, *a national debt*.

That our councils were distracted, and our armaments, on the whole, rather inefficaciously directed, immediately after the Revolution took place, is no ways surprizing. The blessings derived from the establishment of liberty upon the ruins of tyranny, are seldom enjoyed by those through whom the change is effected : these blessings are a rich inheritance which they transmit to their posterity, and which, like the prophet of old, they are only permitted to take a prospect of, not to enter upon. The rapid advances which Great-Britain has since made in Agriculture, Manufactures, Arts, Commerce, and Naval Strength, ought to be attributed to that spirit of freedom, which the Revolution cherished and sanctioned : hence has Great-Britain decreed the destiny of nations by her fleets, and become, at sea, what ancient Rome was on land, the Arbitress of the Universe. So that the grandeur of the nation is derived from the *Majesty of the People* ; a phrase, as an ingenious French writer observes, “ peculiar to the English language, and which is alone sufficient to consecrate a language.” We shall therefore hasten to relate those occurrences which render the eighteenth century, from its very commencement, so important and interesting to England.

T H E



A First Rate Ship of War with Rigging &c. at Anchor.

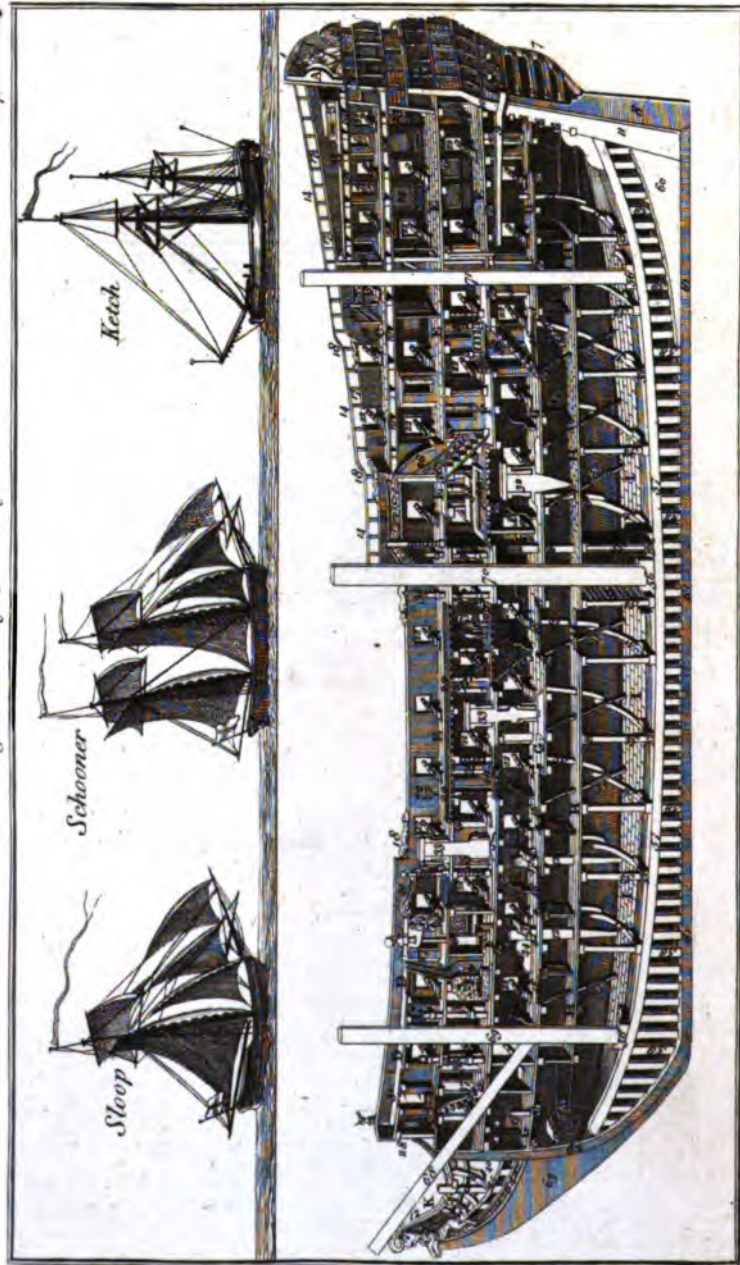
Page 100.

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of a First-rate MAN OF WAR.

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The Section of a First Rate Ship.

Being Cut or Divided by the Middle from the Stern to the Stern, at one View discovering the Decks, Guns, Cabins, &c.

**EXPLANATION of the PLATE, describing
a SECTION of a First-rate SHIP, being cut or divided
by the Middle, from the Stem to the Stern, at one View
discovering the Decks, Guns, Cabins, &c. &c.**

The principal parts of which are distinguish- ed by	{	A The Stern abaft	{ All particulars on either of these parts, are distinguished by numbers 1, 2, 3, &c. against which there is placed the letter of the alphabet, which refers to the principal part, or parts, where that particular is to be found, viz.
		B The Poop	
		C The Quarter Deck	
		D The Store Castle	
		E The Upper Deck	
		F The Middle Deck	
		G The Gun Deck	
		H The Orlop	
		I The Hold	
		K The Head	

- 1 The Tafferell,
- 2 The upper Lights and Balcony,
- 3 The lower Lights and Balcony,
- 4 The Wardroom Lights,
- 5 The Counter,
- 6 The Transoms,
- 7 The Fashion Pieces,
- 8 The Rudder,
- 9 The Tillar, A, G.
- 10 Timbers of the Stern Head, &c. A, K
- 11 The Stern Post, A
- 12 Rails, A, K
- 13 Brackets, A, K
- 14 The Five Rails on the Side, B, K
- 15 The Trumpeters Cabin, B
- 16 Cabins for Lieutenants, Masters, and Mates, B
- 17 Banisters
- 18 Hances, or Falls } on the Ship's Side, B, C, D
- 19 Beams of the Decks, B, C, D, E, F, G, H
- 20 Bulkheads of the Decks, B, C, D
- 21 Gangway and Stairs unto, B, C, D
- 22 Guns and Ports, C, D, E, F, G
- 23 Entrance into the Gallery, E, F
- 24 The State Room, E
- 25 The Bulk Head of the State Room, E, C
- 26 Bulk Head of the Coach, E, C
- 27 Cabins for Boatswain, Carpenter, and Mates, E, D
- 28 Bulk Head of the Fore Peak, E, D
- 29 Gratings, D, E, F, K
- 30 Part of the Catt, D
- 31 Cook Room Chimney, E, F, D
- 32 Main Captain, G
- 33 Jeer Captain, E, F
- 34 Birrs and Cross Pieces to the Mast, E, F
- 35 Standing Cabins for Midshipmen, E, F
- 36 Flying and Winding Stairs, C, E, F, G
- 37 Ladders, E, F, G, H
- 38 Common Table, F
- 39 Cook Room and Furnaces, F
- 40 Standards to the Side and Head, G
- 41 Cabins for Gunners and Mates, G, H
- 42 Bitt Pins,
- 43 Cross Pieces for the Cables, } G, H
- 44 Standarts,
- 45 Manger, G

The Section of a First-rate Ship, &c.

- 46. Hatch Ways, G, H
- 47. Partitions for Steward and Store Rooms, G, H
- 48. Bread Room abaft, Powder Room afore, I, H
- 49. Breast Hooks, I, H
- 50. Upper Futtock Ridders, H, I
- 51. Lower Futtocks, } I
- 52. Floor Riders, }
- 53. Cross Pillars, I
- 54. Upright Pillars, I
- 55. Well Pump and Shott Lockers, G, H
- 56. Steps for the Masts
- 57. The Kelson
- 58. The appearance of the Floor Timbers cut, } I
- 59. Lower ends of the Futtocks, }
- 60. The rising or dead Wood, }
- 61. The Keel,
- 62. The Stem, }
- 63. Knee of the Head, } K
- 64. The Trail Boards, }
- 65. Cheeks } K
- 66. Figure } K
- 67. Funnel for Ease
- 68. Bowsprit
- 69. Fore Mast
- 70. Main Mast
- 71. Mizzen Mast
- 72. Pifcell
- 73. Entering Port

A KETCH is a vessel equipped with two masts, viz. the main-mast and mizen-mast, and usually from 100 to 250 tons burden. Such vessels are principally used as yachts, or as bomb-vessels; the former of which are employed to convey princes of the blood, ambassadors, or other great personages, from one part to another; and the latter are used to bombard citadels, towns, or other fortresses. The bomb-ketches are therefore furnished with all the apparatus necessary for a vigorous bombardment. They are built remarkably strong, being fitted with a greater number of riders, or interior ribs, than any other vessel of war; which reinforcement is absolutely necessary to sustain the violent shock produced by the discharge of their mortars, which would otherwise, in a very short time, shatter them to pieces.—*Falconer's Marine Dictionary.*

A SCHOONER is a small vessel with two masts, whose main-sail and fore-sail are suspended from gaffs, (a gaff is a sort of boom, or pole) reaching from the mast towards the stern, and stretched out below by booms, whose foremost-ends are hooked to an iron, which clasps the mast so as to turn therein, as upon an axis, when the after-ends are swung from one side of the vessel to the other.—*Idem.*

A GLOOP is a small vessel, furnished with one mast, the main-sail of which is attached to a gaff above, so the mast on its foremoft edge, and to a long boom below; by which it is occasionally shifted to either quarter.—*Idem.*

A SLOOP OF WAR is a name given to the smallest vessels of war except Cutters. They are rigged either as Ships or as Snows.—*Idem.*

THE
NAVAL HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

B O O K IV.

The Naval History of GREAT-BRITAIN; its Trade, Commerce, and Maritime Strength, from the Revolution to the Demise of Queen ANNE.

C H A P. II.

Conclusion of the Reign of King William III. after the Death of Queen Mary.

Comparative View of the Navy of Great-Britain—Trading Companies established to Africa and India—Admiral Russel in the Mediterranean—Lord Berkeley annoys the Coast of France—Expedition to the West-Indies—Conspiracy against the Life of King William—Projected Invasion from France defeated—Operations of the English Fleet against the Coast of France—Restrictions laid on the chartered Colonies of America—Irish Linen Manufacture encouraged—Embarrassed State of the Bank of England—Expedition to the West-Indies—Registering of Seamen

Seamen—Peace of Ryswick—State of England's Commerce after the Peace—New East-India Company constituted—Trade between France and England—Board of Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations settled—Intrigues for the Spanish Succession—Partition Treaty—Earl of Marlborough restored to Office—Settlement made by the Scotch on the Isthmus of Darien—Copenhagen bombarded by the combined Fleets of England and Holland—Dampier's Voyage to New-Guinea—Death of the Duke of Gloucester—Act to regulate the Newfoundland Fishery—Death of the King of Spain—Succession to the Crown of Great-Britain settled—Treaty of Alliance between the Emperor and the Maritime Powers—Comparative View of the English and French Trade to Turkey—Death of King James—The French acknowledge the pretended Prince of Wales for King of England—Death of King William.

THE parliamentary provision for the service of the army and navy, during the year 1695, was four millions seven hundred and twelve pounds, for the raising of which sum the land-tax was continued; the subsidy of tonnage and poundage was renewed for five years, and new duties were laid on different commodities. An act was passed, establishing a trading company to Africa and the Indies, empowering them to plant colonies, build cities, towns, or forts, in places uninhabited, or in others, with the consent of the natives; vesting them with an exclusive right, and an exemption for twenty-one years, from all duties or imposts. This act was afterwards confirmed by letters-patent under the great seal, directed by the parliament, without any farther warrant from the crown. This scheme was projected by Paterfon, the

the same man who had formed the plan of the Bank: he had farther in view the forming a settlement on the Isthmus of Darien, in such a manner as to open a trade to the South-Sea, and across it, even to the East-Indies. The design was supported by the gentry and merchants of Scotland; but it ultimately proved ruinous to that country. It was said to have been privately encouraged by the interlopers in the English East-India trade, who, finding the company supported by government, endeavoured to serve themselves by these means.

Before we enter upon the naval transactions of this year, we shall lay before our readers a comparative view of the state of the British navy at that time, and in former times, which is extracted from the first volume of bishop Gibson's continuation of Camden's Britannia, and is laid down by Mr. Pepys, secretary to the admiralty.

Different States of the Royal Navy.	In Camden's Time, anno 1607.	In the Year 1695.
First.		
Number of ships and vessels, from fifty tons and upwards	No more than 40	Above 200.
Secondly.		
The general tonnage of the whole	Was under 23,600 tons.	Above 112,400 tons.
Thirdly.		
The number of men required for manning the same	Was under 7,800 men	Above 45,000 men.
Fourthly.		
The medium of its annual charges during the last five years	Peace Under 15,000l. War Under 96,500l.	Above 400,000l. Above 1620,000l.

In

In the spring four thousand five hundred troops arrived at Cadiz, where admiral Ruffel had wintered, under the command of brigadier Stuart, together with a large fleet of victuallers. The admiral, hereupon, sailed for Barcelona, where the affairs of France were greatly on the decline. The marquis de Gastanaga, viceroy of Catalonia, having formed a design of retaking Palamos, desired the assistance of Ruffel and his fleet for that purpose. In consequence of this design, four thousand English and Dutch troops were landed, whilst the fleet began to bombard the town and castle. The Spanish army was quite unprovided with every necessary for conducting the siege, whilst the French had a numerous garrison in the town. Ruffel, therefore, soon withdrew his assistance, but not until he had done considerable damage to the town and castle. He then proceeded to Toulon, to look after the French fleet. Some attribute the miscarriage of this expedition to a disagreement between the English admiral and the Spanish court: the former complained that his Catholic majesty had made no preparations for the campaign; that he had neglected to fulfil his engagements with respect to the Spanish squadron, which ought to have joined the fleets of England and Holland; and that he had taken no care to provide tents and provisions for the British forces. Having spent the summer to little purpose on the coasts of Spain and Province, he returned to Cadiz in the end of September. The French were, however, greatly alarmed at the English remaining undisputed masters in the Mediterranean, and were in continual dread of a descent being made on their coast, so that although no actual advantage was gained, yet the French ports in that sea were effectually shut up, and the honour of the British flag restored.

In

In the channel, lord Berkley of Stratton, and the Dutch admiral Allemonde, obliged the French fleet to remain in port, whilst they resolved upon a second attack upon St. Maloes. This mode of making war by bombardment, it must be confessed, appears very inhuman, and quite repugnant to that refinement of manners which had then diffused itself pretty widely; but as these destructive engines were first practised by the French, it was no more than executing the equitable law of retaliation, to alarm them with apprehensions of like devastation as those which they had spread over Genoa, without even a previous declaration of war. Their boasted Louis XIV. had, with wanton cruelty, put whole countries under military execution, even after they had brought in the contributions exacted of them. In short, all the unfeeling savageness practised in the most barbarous ages of the world, do not exceed the extirpating spirit which in some instances actuated this refiner of French manners and taste.

The attempt which the English now made on St. Maloes, did less injury to the town than their former one. On their way home they destroyed Granville on the coast of Normandy *. Returning to Portsmouth to refit, they soon after took a small number of soldiers on board, and sailed for the Downs with a design to attack Dunkirk; the expedition was conducted by Meesters, who had provided instruments of destruction for the place. On the 1st day of August, the bomb-ketches, fire-ships, and machine vessels, with several light frigates and brigantines to cover them, entered the harbour. The bombardment began about nine in the morning, and the attack continued until five

* July 6, 1695.

in the afternoon. The French, however, were so well provided for their defence, that no impression could be made. A want of unanimity disconcerted the measures of the assailants, and the Dutch engineer retired in disgust during the night. Lord Berkley, although deprived of his assistance, resolved to attack Calais. Previous to an assault upon the town, it was necessary to demolish a wooden fort erected at the entrance of the pier-heads. This service was gallantly and successfully performed by colonel Richardson on the 17th day of August. But although six hundred bombs were thrown into the town, it sustained no essential injury. This attempt concluded the operations of the combined fleets, during the summer of 1695.

A squadron commanded by the marquis of Carmarthen, whose father had just then been created duke of Leeds, was stationed off the isles of Scilly, for the security of the homeward-bound merchant-ships. This man was very unequal to the trusts reposed in him; for mistaking a fleet of merchantmen for the Brest squadron, he retired precipitately into Milford-Haven. His conduct exposed the Barbadoes fleet to the French privateers and cruisers; two rich East India ships were likewise taken one hundred and fifty leagues to the westward, which gave great reason to suspect treachery, as cruisers seldom strike out so far from the coasts. To add to the misfortunes of the East India Company, three other homeward-bound ships that had arrived near Galway, on the west of Ireland, fell into the hands of some French privateers. These ships were valued at a million sterling. The merchants renewed their clamour against the commissioners of the admiralty, who, in justification of themselves,

* Burnet's own Times.

produced

produced their orders to the marquis of Carmarthen, whose misconduct in this business was flagrant; but these national calamities took their rise principally from the circumstantial intelligence transmitted to France from time to time by the malecontents in England.

The naval efforts of the English in the West Indies, were attended with no success. Wilmot and Lillingston, with twelve hundred land forces, was sent on an expedition against the French in Hispaniola, in which enterprize they were to be assisted by the Spaniards on that island. After they had accomplished this design, they were directed to proceed to the northward, and destroy the French fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland. When they arrived at St. Domingo, the Spanish viceroy furnished seventeen hundred troops; with this reinforcement they attacked fort François, Wilmot plundered the country for his own advantage, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Lillingston. Great dissensions prevailed among the sea and land forces, insomuch that the Spaniards soon grew weary of their allies, and withdrew their assistance. In the beginning of September, the commodore set sail for England, and lost one of his ships in the gulph of Florida. He himself died in his passage home, and the greater part of the men being swept off by an epidemical distemper, the squadron returned to England in a most miserable condition.

The war which France had maintained for five years against the combined force of Europe, had spread misery through the country. That kingdom began to be exhausted both of men and money, whilst an unkindly season destroyed the fruits of the earth, and brought on a famine. By these calamities the spirit of the nation was greatly sunk.

B 2

Louvois,

Louvois, who had conducted the affairs of the kingdom with great success and popularity, was dead, and the army had lost marshal Luxembourg, who also died in January 1695, and who had ever been found an overmatch for the confederate army, with the king of England at their head. Such was the aspect of affairs at the opening of the campaign, which seemed to promise every thing propitious to the cause of the allies. Namur was taken by William, with as much honour as it had been before lost with disgrace, and much in the same manner, for it was carried in sight of an army stronger than that which subdued it; and although strengthened with many new works, and defended by a garrison which was itself an army *. The campaign was closed without any other important stroke being struck.

The king returned to England the latter end of October, and dissolving the parliament, which then stood prorogued, called a new one, which assembled on the 22d of November following.

In the beginning of the year 1696, a double plot was discovered to assassinate the king, and invade the kingdom. Many of the adherents of the late king came over from France, and held consultations with the Papists and Nonjurors on the murder of king William; and after several debates on the time, place and manner, of executing their horrid design, they at last agreed to assassinate his majesty on some day in February, as he returned from hunting, in a lane between Brentford and Turnham-green. But the whole plot was happily discovered by Pendergrass, the very night before it was to have been executed. It was confirmed by de la Rue, another of the conspirators, and after-

* Voltair.

wards by captain Porter, and others, who came in upon the proclamation for apprehending the conspirators. At the same time there was to have been an invasion from France; for which purpose James was come to Calais; and the troops, artillery, and stores, were immediately ordered to be embarked; but by the news of the miscarriage of the assassination plot, and by the speedy sending of a formidable fleet under admiral Russel, the whole design was frustrated.

On the 21st of February, the king, in a speech to both houses, informed the parliament of the discovery of the plot, and explained the steps he had taken to defeat the double design; and the same evening both houses addressed his majesty, to congratulate him on his preservation. The house of commons also drew up and subscribed an association to stand by each other, in defence of his majesty's person and government, against the late king James and all his adherents. The lords also agreed to the same association; and the example of the two houses was followed by all the corporations in the kingdom. Several of the conspirators fled beyond sea; and of those who were apprehended, Carnock, King, and Keys, were executed on the 18th of March: Sir John Friend, and Sir William Perkins, on the 3d of April following: brigadier Rookwood, major Lowick, and Mr. Cranbourn, on the 29th. Some time after Sir John Fenwick was apprehended for that part of the plot relating to the invasion. A bill of attainder was brought into the house of commons against him, which gave rise to a very warm debate, and the case was argued with great learning and ingenuity, by the crown lawyers, on the one hand, and the council for the prisoner on the other. The bill was at length passed, and sent to the lords. The proof
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of this man's guilt could only be obtained from two witnesses, Porter and Goodmans; these two were practised upon by offers of large bribes, to quit the kingdom, that the charge might fall to the ground. One of these witnesses accepted the conditions and withdrew; the other, by pretending to listen to the proposal, betrayed the whole design. The question was, whether the legislature had a right to dispense with that degree of evidence, which in the courts of law were essentially necessary at all times, in a case where the preservation of the government, and the punishment of a flagitious disturber of it, were deeply interested. The bill of attainder passed the upper house by a majority of seven votes only. Fenwick was thereupon beheaded on Tower-hill.

The design of invading England, as has been already hinted, proved equally abortive as the assassination-plot. The French king, induced by the strong assurances he received of the number and influence of the Jacobites in England, agreed to furnish an army, and every thing necessary for a descent: the troops intended for this expedition assembled about Calais and Dunkirk, and four hundred sail of great and small vessels were collected from different ports. James, however, had no sooner reached Calais *, than the duke of Wirtemberg dispatched his aid de camp from Flanders to king William, with an account of the blow that was meditating. Expresses, with the same tidings, arrived from the elector of Bavaria, and the prince of Vandemont. Two considerable squadrons being ready for sea, admiral Russel embarked at Spithead, and stood over to the French coast, with above fifty sail of the line. This sudden appearance of the English fleet, so contrary

* February 20, 1696.

to the accustomed tardiness which had impeded its operations, threw the enemy into confusion; they hauled in their vessels under the shore, in such shallow water, that the English could attempt nothing against them; however, nothing could be done in transporting troops to England, so that the designs of France were effectually frustrated. James having continued some weeks at Calais, returned to St. Germain. The forces were sent back to the garrisons from whence they had been draughted, and the people of France exclaimed, that the malignant star, which ruled the destiny of James, had blasted this, as it had done every other project formed for his restoration.

Meanwhile the new parliament took into consideration, a national evil which had increased to an alarming magnitude. It appeared from various experiments, that the silver coin on a medium, was diminished one third. In proportion as the intrinsic value of silver sunk beneath its nominal value, the gold rose. Mr. Montague, afterwards lord Halifax, chancellor of the Exchequer, was very active in promoting a re-coinage of the silver money. He urged, that the bad state of the coin, had turned the exchange of all Europe in an alarming degree against the nation. From thence also proceeded the difficulties and disadvantages in raising the supplies, for which the government were obliged to allow exorbitant premiums and interest. That guineas, by this growing evil, were already advanced to thirty shillings, and foreign gold in the same extravagant proportion. He concluded with affirming, that the evil would gather strength every day; that the contagion had already spread through every vein of commerce; and unless a speedy and powerful remedy was applied, the desolation of the state advanced with hasty strides.

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Those who were disaffected to government, opposed this regulation with great vehemence. They saw thereby the stability of the state, fixed on the solid foundation of public benefit; but the arguments urged in opposition to this measure though, plausible, were ineffectual to stop its progress. It was affirmed, that the present conjuncture was by no means fit for a measure, whose operations must give a general and violent shock to commerce, and that at a season, when the nation was engaged in a burdensome and doubtful war, such a reformation ought not to be thought on. The recoinage of the silver money was, however, resolved upon, and to be of the old weight and fineness, and two millions were voted to enable government to call in all the diminished silver money; but this was done gradually, to prevent the inconveniencies that would have arisen from putting a stop to the circulation of adulterated money all at once. Means were also used for gradually reducing the price of guineas, so as to bear their value in silver, in foreign parts. By such prudent conduct, in little more than a year, the silver coin of England came forth from the mint, the finest and most beautiful of any in Europe. And although many inconveniences happened in trade, whilst it remained unfinished, yet in the end it astonished and confounded all the enemies of the king and kingdom, both at home and abroad.

It was on this occasion that Mr. Montague first set on foot a new circulating paper credit, by issuing bills from the Exchequer; at the same time contracting for their being circulated for ready money on demand. As many of those first Exchequer bills were for sums so low as five pounds, and ten pounds, they were of great use, whilst the scarcity of silver, occasioned by the recoinage, continued. As they were taken at the Exchequer for all payments of
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the revenue, and as when re-issued, they were allowed seven pounds twelve shillings per cent. interest, they soon rose from a small discount to be better than par. These have since been issued yearly, and the Bank of England has constantly, for many years past, been the contractors for their circulation, at a certain premium; for which purpose the Bank takes annual subscriptions for enabling them to circulate them.

Before the king went abroad this year, he created a new and standing council for commerce and plantations, commonly styled *the lords commissioners for trade and plantations*; one of whom was the celebrated Mr. John Locke. This establishment owed its rise to the loud complaints which the merchants of England carried to the throne, of the captures which had been made by the French of their ships, in consequence of the little regard that was paid to the trade and commerce of the kingdom by the board of admiralty. From the year 1673, when the former standing council of commerce was dropped, until this time, all disputes and regulations respecting commerce, and the American colonies, were usually referred to committees of the privy-council; but such occasional committees, being a constantly varying set of members, and having no stated appointment for transacting such concerns, were not induced to bestow that attention upon them which their importance merited. It was therefore found highly expedient to establish a regular and permanent board for such important ends, our foreign commerce and plantations, as well as most branches of our home trade, and of our numerous manufactures being now greatly increased and improved. This new board was composed of a first lord commissioner, (who has ever since usually been a peer of the realm) and of seven

other commissioners, each having a salary of one thousand pounds a year.

The Edyston rock, lying off the port of Plymouth, having proved very destructive to many ships that had been driven upon it, the corporation of the Trinity House, in the year 1696, began to erect a light-house thereon, which was completed in three years. For the accomplishment of which many masters and owners of English ships agreed to pay a penny per ton outwards and returning. In the dreadful storm which happened in 1703, this light-house was blown down and destroyed. In the fourth year of queen Anne, it was rebuilt by act of parliament, when the contribution from the English shipping, which had before been voluntary, was fixed by authority of parliament.

The parliament of England likewise passed an act, for the increase and encouragement of seamen, by which thirty thousand seamen were ordered to be registered, in order that they might be in readiness at all times for supplying the royal navy; these were to receive a premium of forty shillings yearly. Such registered seamen only were eligible to any commission or warrant offices in the royal navy; they were likewise entitled to a double share or dividend in all prizes. And such only, when maimed, or superannuated, were to be admitted into the newly established hospital for seamen at Greenwich. The widows and children of such registered seamen, who might be killed in the service, were alone admissible into that hospital. By the same act, sixpence per month was to be deducted from the pay of all seamen, as well serving in merchant ships as in the royal navy, for the support of Greenwich Hospital. This act, so far as it relates to the registering of seamen, was repealed by an act of the 9th year of queen Anne; and although many

many plans have been proposed for the reviving of such a register, yet so many objections have been started, that no law has as yet been framed for so important a matter as that of having in constant readiness, a competent number of seamen to man the royal navy, when the exigencies of the state call for a speedy supply of men, without having recourse to the barbarous and unconstitutional practice of pressing.

Another act passed the same session, was intended for farther enforcing and improving the acts of navigation, and for preventing of frauds, and other abuses in the Plantation trade. It was thereby enacted, "that all ships trading to and from our Asian, African, or American plantations or settlements, shall be English, Irish, or Plantation-built; and that their cargoes shall be either English, Irish, or Plantation property, and shall be registered as such, &c. and as our North-American colonies had now risen into consequence, it was therein enacted, "that no charter-proprietor of lands on the continent of America, shall sell, or otherwise dispose of them to any other than natural-born subjects, without the king's license in council for that purpose."

Another salutary act passed in this session, was calculated to benefit the linen trade of Ireland. It allowed of the free importation of hemp, flax, and linen, and its thread and yarn, the growth or manufacture of Ireland, into England, by natives of England and Ireland, duty free.

Many circumstances at this time concurred to involve the infant Bank of England in difficulty and distress. Among the causes of these embarrassments may be reckoned, an ill-judged scheme for a land-bank in England, which proved abortive; the deficient funds for the annual supplies; and the bad state of the silver coinage. Their notes, at the

time we are now speaking of, were at a discount of fifteen and twenty per cent. for such was the company's necessity, that they could pay those notes only by ten per cent. once in a fortnight; and at length, no more than three per cent. once in three months, were paid upon them. This extreme want of cash in the Bank arose from their having taken the clipped, and otherwise diminished silver money, at the legal, or *par* value by tale, and also guineas at thirty shillings, for which they issued their notes, payable on demand, which occasioned them to be much pressed, until they received out from the Mint a sufficient quantity of the new silver coin, to enable them to answer the daily demands made upon them for their outstanding notes. These distresses obliged the Bank to make two different calls of twenty per cent. each, on their members in the year 1696, and to issue Bank sealed-bills, bearing six per cent. interest in exchange for Bank cash-notes. Such was the distress of the times, that the Bank was obliged to call in all monies which they had advanced on mortgages, pawns, notes, bills, or other security. But these difficulties were greatly removed as soon as the new coinage was completed; but the entire restoration of the credit of the Bank of England was effected by an act of parliament, commonly known by the title of the second subscription, or engrafting act; whereby an additional duty was laid on salt, and the other duties were extended to a longer term, in order to make up a general fund for past deficiencies. The subscribers to the capital of one million two hundred thousand pounds were paid their principal, and the interest which had been made thereby; and a new capital of five million one hundred and sixty thousand four hundred and fifty-nine pounds fourteen shillings and nine-pence halfpenny, besides the current service of the year 1697, was

was established. The Bank was thereupon empowered to issue an additional number of notes, equal to the amount of this new subscription, and in case such notes were not discharged upon demand, the Exchequer was subjected to the payment of them, out of the first money which should become due to the Bank. The same act confirmed the charter granted to the Bank until the year 1710, when, upon one year's notice given, it might be revoked. In a few months after this, provision was made for the Bank, the stock which had before been greatly below par, suddenly rose to one hundred and twelve, so that those who had possessed themselves of large quantities of Bank stock, when it was reduced to its lowest ebb, gained immensely in a very short time. "Whereby," says Mr. Anderson, "the greatest estates were raised in the least time, and the most of them, that had been known in any age, and in any part of the world. Sir Gilbert Heathcot is said to have gained thereby above sixty thousand pounds*."

Among the many projects about this time in England, one took place which has preserved its credit to our own times, viz. that commonly called the million-bank. It took its rise from a set of London bankers who lent out money on pledges. Afterwards they agreed in partnership to purchase tickets in king William's million lottery, in the year 1695; and from thence they were called the company of the million bank. Next they purchased many reversions of the four per cent. annuities, and admitted many proprietors of annuities to purchase their joint-stock, which amounted and still amounts to five hundred thousand pounds. They are no company by charter, but only a partnership by deed,

* Deduction of Commerce, Vol. II. p. 219.

enrolled in Chancery, prior to the act of parliament against such unincorporated partnerships, in the year 1721. They divided five per cent. yearly to their proprietors, until Lady-day 1728, when they reduced their annual dividend to four per cent *.

During the summer of 1696, nothing of consequence was performed at sea. Lord Berkley, who was appointed to the command of the fleet, sailed on the 24th day of June, for the Bay of Biscay. On the 3d day of July he appeared with his squadron before the island of Groais, opposite to Port L'Orient. Here they destroyed twenty villages, containing thirteen hundred houses, and carried off a great number of horses and black cattle. He then proceeded to Houat and Hedic, which lay to the south-eastward, and within a few leagues of the island of Belleisle, which they laid waste. At the same time Sir Martin Beckman was sent to bombard the town of St. Martins, in the isle of Rhé, the greatest part of which he reduced to ashes. On the 7th the squadron, which consisted of ten men of war, bombarded Olonne, a town in Lower Picardy, which was set on fire in fifteen different places, with the shells and carcasses. Though these appear to have been enterprizes of small import, yet it ought to be remembered, that they served to keep the whole western coast of France in perpetual alarm; inso-much that sixty thousand men were continually in arms for the defence of the maritime parts.

In the month of May rear-admiral Benbow sailed with a small squadron, in order to block up a famous naval partisan of France, named Du Bart, in the harbour of Dunkirk; but that adventurer found means to escape in a fog, and steering north-eastward, attacked a fleet of Dutch ships in the Baltic,

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. II. p. 208.

which

which was convoyed by five frigates. The whole of the convoy he made prize of, together with near one half of the merchantmen; but on his return home with his captures, he fell in with the Dutch Baltic fleet outward bound, which had thirteen ships of the line for their convoy. As he was by no means a match for such a force, he was compelled to burn four of the frigates, to turn the fifth adrift, also several of his prizes, only fifteen of which he kept, and brought safe into the harbour of Dunkirk.

The house of commons, which met on the 20th day of October, entered into an enquiry concerning the miscarriages of the fleet, which was chiefly aimed at the conduct of Sir George Rooke, who had received orders to intercept the Toulon Squadron in its way to Brest, he having wintered at Cadiz; but in this attempt he miscarried. The commons, in a committee of the whole house, resolved to enquire, why this fleet was not intercepted? Rooke was examined at the bar of the house, and called upon to produce his journal, together with the instructions he received from the admiralty, and the letters which had been written to him from thence. The admirals Shovel and Mitchel were likewise examined, but no imputation being fixed upon the commander in chief, the affair dropped. The house afterwards voted the sum of two million three hundred seventy-two thousand one hundred and ninety-seven pounds, for the maintenance of forty thousand seamen, two marine regiments, the ordinary of the navy, and the charge of the registry of seamen*.

Whilst these transactions passed in Europe, the French sent out a squadron of force under the com-

* Journals of the House of Commons.

mand of the *Sieur Pointis*, who had on board a considerable number of land forces, for the West Indies; who failing to Carthagea, made himself master of that important place, with the wealth which was lodged in it, amounting, by the French account, to 8,000,000 of crowns, but the Spaniards acknowledged no such loss, the silver having been previously removed to a place of security *. *Pointis* having destroyed the fortifications, bore away for the Straits of Bahama. On the 22d day of May, he fell in with the English and Dutch fleets, commanded by *Nevil*, and one of *Pointis's* fly-boats was taken; but he made shift to escape, although pursued during five days, in which chace the English and Dutch rear-admirals sprang their fore-top-masts, and received so much damage, that they were obliged to steer for Carthagea to refit. *Nevil* found the place abandoned of its inhabitants, who after the departure of *Pointis*, had been a second time rifled by the Buccaneers, who complained that the French had defrauded them of their share of the plunder, which was really the case, for *Pointis* had behaved to those freebooters, who did him essential service in reducing the place, with great injustice when it was taken. On the 6th day of June, when vice-admiral *Nevil* had been six days at Carthagea, he discovered eight sail of Buccaneers close under the shore; whereupon a detachment was sent to destroy them. Two they forced on shore, other two they took, and the rest escaped. The vice-admiral then directed his course to Jamaica; Sir William Beeston, the governor, suggested to the commander, that as the French fleet had made good their escape; the only important service which remained for him to render, was the destruction of that nest

* Burnet's own Times.

of

of pirates which issued from the port of Petit-Guavas, on the island of St. Domingo. On the 22d day of June, 1697, rear-admiral Meeze was sent with nine ships of war against this place, which he surprized, set on fire, and totally destroyed. Nevil then proceeded to the Havannah, having under his convoy the Jamaica fleet. His design was to take the Spanish galleons, under his protection, in their voyage to Europe, but the governor of Cuba, and the general of the galleons, doubtful of the English admiral's sincerity, with great civility refused admitting his fleet into the haven, and putting the plate fleet under his protection. Indeed it does not appear how a viceroy, without positive orders from his court, could be justified in placing such an implicit confidence in any ally; for if Nevil's fleet had been admitted into the harbour, the place of the greatest consequence to Spain of any in the West Indies, and the richest fleet of that age, having fifty millions on board *, would have been entirely at the mercy of their protector. Vice-admiral Nevil then proceeded to Virginia, devoured with chagrin at the treatment he had received from the Spaniards, and that his expedition had proved so ineffectual, by the escape of the French fleet. This state of mind concurring with the influence of the climate, threw him into a hectic fever, of which he died at Virginia, on the 27th day of August following. Rear-admiral Meeze died some weeks before him, so that the command of the squadron devolved upon captain Robert Dilkes, who brought the fleet safe to England on the 24th day of October, in a shattered condition, half manned, and without prizes, to the extreme disappointment of the nation, who had reckoned

* Campbell's Naval History, Vol. III. p. 216.

on the acquisition of wealth and glory, by this expedition.

In the mean time the *Sieur Pointis*, after he had disengaged himself from the English fleet, which hung on his rear, directed his course to the banks of Newfoundland, and entered Conception bay, at the time that a stout English Squadron lay at anchor in the adjoining bay of St. John, under the command of commodore Norris. This officer being informed of the arrival of a French fleet, concluded it to have been dispatched from France under M. Nesmond, in order to attack him. Soon after he received full information concerning the enemy; he thereupon called a council of war, composed of the land as well as the naval officers, wherein it was debated, whether he should attack the enemy, or remain in port. All the land officers, who were eleven in number, were against making the attack; the sea officers, who numbered thirteen, were divided in their opinion, five agreed with the land officers, not to sail out against the enemy; eight, among whom was the commodore, advised an immediate attack on the French, who lay negligently at anchor, without any apprehension of the danger which awaited them. The majority of eighteen to eight over-ruled a measure, which bid fair for rendering eminent service to the kingdom. Norris had been sent out with some land forces to recover Hudson's Bay; those who opposed fighting the French, therefore, gave for reason, that as they were sent upon another service, they ought not to run unnecessary hazards. In consequence of this resolution, Pointis was permitted to proceed on his voyage to Europe; but he had not yet escaped every danger. On the 4th day of August, he fell in with a Squadron commanded by commodore Harlow, and an obstinate engagement ensued; but when

when night came on the French bore away, and the next day made the harbour of Brest in safety; having weathered as many dangers as any squadron that ever put to sea. The people of England could not understand how a fleet of foul ships, returning from a long voyage, during which they had found no opportunity of careening, should outfail an English squadron which had just put to sea*. The admiralty declared themselves satisfied; "but," says bishop Burnet, "that board was accused of much partiality, and to outward appearance, there was much room given, either to censure the orders, or the execution of them †." The king owned he did not understand maritime affairs; and Russell, now created earl of Orford, had the entire direction both of the admiralty and navy-boards: so that his power was almost equal to that of a lord high-admiral. It was generally supposed, that there was much corruption, as it was certain there was much faction, if not treachery, in the conduct of our marine ‡. The house of lords however, some time after, entered upon an enquiry, why the fleet under Norris did not attack the French ships commanded by Pointis? and after taking a full view of the evidence, resolved, that the not going out to fight Pointis, upon the several intelligences given, was a very high miscarriage, to the great disservice of the king and kingdom; and farther, that the

* The following advertisement appeared on Thursday, Sept. 23; 1697, in the London Gazette, No. 3325.

"Admiralty Office, Sept. 21. Whereas, the right honourable the lords commissioners of the admiralty, did receive a letter by the post, signed A. B. which contains several things relating to the late action of captain Harlow: these are to give notice, that if the person who writ the said letter, will apply himself to one of the secretaries of the admiralty, his name shall not be made known, without his own consent, and he shall likewise be rewarded, and preferred by their lordships.

"WILLIAM BRIDGEMAN."

† Burnet's own Times.

‡ Idem.

joining the land-forces in the council of war, was one occasion of such miscarriage.

The operations by sea and land, during the summer of 1697, were feeble and unimportant. All the powers of Europe, grown weary of this tedious and exhausting struggle, were well inclined to hearken to terms of peace. King William left Kensington on the 24th day of April, 1697, and in three days arrived at the Hague. The advances made towards a peace, at the close of the preceding summer, were improved in the winter. The king had named, in the month of December, three plenipotentiaries to negotiate a treaty: the French king had appointed two persons, in the like capacity, to be joined to Callieres, who had long carried on a negotiation at the Hague. The emperor, and the court of Spain, threw various objections in the way; but these being at length overruled by the rest of the allies, a congress was agreed to be opened, under the mediation of Charles XI. king of Sweden; that prince dying in the mean time, the office of mediator was transferred to his son, Charles XII. a youth of no more than fifteen years of age, who, as Voltaire justly observes, was reputed an hero, at an age when others have not finished their education. The ambassadors of the belligerent powers met on the 9th day of May, at a house belonging to the king of England, in the neighbourhood of Ryswick, a village situated between Delft and the Hague. The maritime powers were now absolutely under the direction of the king of England, who had all along been the life and soul of the confederacy; and he had scarce any thing to settle with France, except her acknowledgment of his right to the throne of England. Louis the Fourteenth therefore, who had restored to the Spaniards all he had taken near the Pyrenees, in the late

late war; as also Luxembourg, Mons, Ath, and Courtrai, in Flanders, agreed to acknowledge William as lawful king of England; hitherto styled only prince of Orange, and accounted an usurper: he promised likewise to give no assistance to his enemies. James, who was not even mentioned in the treaty, remained at St. Germain's, living on the empty title of king, and a pension from Louis. He sent nothing now against his rival but manifestoes; his protector was obliged to sacrifice him, and he was already forgotten in Europe*. Indeed, that prince had ceased to expect aid from France, ever since his disappointment in the projected invasion of the preceding year. He flattered himself, in his lost condition, with other hopes: he was assured from England, that William was in a declining state of health, having a dropsical habit of body, and that his dissolution seemed to advance with hasty strides. James had formed a new scheme upon the event of his nephew's death. He resolved to return to England, though three men should not follow him, and to throw himself on the good-nature of the English nation. "It could not enter into his mind," he said, "that the people of England would treat him with indignities†;" and he looked upon the majority as well attached to his interests.

The hopes which James had formed, upon the speedy death of William, were dashed from a quarter, where no check to his views were then feared. The princess of Denmark had, for six years, maintained a correspondence with her father, in which she gave him strong assurances of her duty, and expressed her contrition for having deserted his interests. The ill state of king William's health had now awakened her ambition, and opened to her

* Voltaire.

† Life of king James the Second, in Macpherson's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 257.

an alluring prospect of a crown. She wrote to her father upon the subject, and desired to know his pleasure, whether he would permit her to ascend the throne, according to the act of settlement, should the prince of Orange, so she called king William, happen to die? She accompanied this request with expressions of duty, and a seeming readiness to make restitution, when opportunity should serve. She insinuated, that should he refuse to accede to this expedient, considering the present disposition of the kingdom, he would remove himself farther from the hopes of recovering his throne. The sceptre, she said, would fall into worse hands, out of which it could not be so easily recovered. This reasoning of the princess was too refined for the temper of her father. He told his friends, that though he could suffer injustice, he could never be persuaded to give it countenance: he knew, he said, that of all restrictions, none is harder to make than that of a crown: he however excused himself to his daughter; and his declared adherence to the resolution of placing himself in the hands of his former subjects, put an end to the proposal*.

In order to traduce the character of king William, the manuscript Memoirs of king James the Second, preserved in the Scotch college at Paris, have been ransacked, and an interpolation in the text foisted in, on purpose to lodge a charge of the most incredible, as well as the basest nature: namely, that he stipulated privately with Louis XIV. when the treaty at Ryswick was set on foot, that the supposed son of James should succeed to the crown of England, after the death of William. It is farther said, that James himself, by rejecting the proposal, prevented the accomplishment of the design†. The

* Macpherson, Vol. II. p. 130.
in Macpherson's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 260.

† Life of James the Second'

enemies

enemies to king William the Third, in this attack upon his character, have really counteracted their purpose, by their unguarded zeal to effect it: the uniform tenor of William's life, testified a mind, attached *from principle* to the protestant interests, and the liberties of mankind; if he was not on good terms with the princess Anne, it was owing to the secret correspondence she maintained with her father; but she had a son, a youth of expectations, for the training of whom for the succession to the crown, the king discovered great solicitude: the situation of England and France, when the treaty of Ryswick took place, did not require such a concession from the former; and when Louis gave up so readily the interests of the father, can it be supposed that he should be tenacious of those of the son? When he acknowledged the prince of Orange king of England, he admitted the crown of England to be elective, not hereditary. But if we were for a moment to suppose, that William was all along insincere in his professions, we must suppose his folly equal to his hypocrisy, before we can admit this fact. Had he undertaken to alter the succession in favour of a son of James, he would have desperately risked both his reputation and his quiet, by endeavouring to undo all that the legislature had done to settle the important business of the succession. He might as well have attempted to annul the bill of rights, or to have revived the dispensing power of the crown. In short, the king of England had no such influence over his parliament, and he knew it.

It is really alarming, to see the very artful means that have been of late used to undermine the reputation of the greatest political characters, which this country, or any other, ever produced.—A book is published, professing the warmest esteem for the
character

character of king William, and a hearty approbation of the measures which brought about the revolution; but wherein most of the great men who had struggled hard in the cause of liberty, during the disgraceful reign of Charles the Second, are proved to have been destitute of that integrity and patriotism for which they are celebrated: which proof is drawn from the dispatches of a French minister, whom Voltaire describes as a man of pleasure, and better qualified to intrigue with the king's mistresses, than to negotiate with politicians! *

A year or two after this publication appeared, the plan of detraction which it sat on foot was brought forward by a more hardy agent, in a more overt-act. His blow is directly aimed at the character of king William; whilst perhaps truths are brought to light, respecting the conduct of many statesmen, who were conspicuous in the public transactions of those times, and whose memories have not been consecrated to unsullied fame. Such proceedings ought to alarm every one who believes in the possibility, that men may be sincerely virtuous, and uncorrupt patriots; whilst every attempt to resolve all pretensions to virtue and patriotism, into self-interest and imposture, should meet the detestation of every honest man. *Hic niger est; hunc tu Romane caveo.*

The emperor of Germany was the only potentate leagued in the grand confederacy, who continued to show a hostile disposition. His backwardness to peace proceeded from the success of his arms in Hungary, under prince Eugene of Savoy; who, on the 11th day of September, totally defeated the Turks at Zenta, a small village on the western banks of the Theysse, in the kingdom of Hungary. To

* *Siecle de Louis*, quatorze, chap. 14. See the second volume of this History, p. 305.

the spirit and conduct of this commander, the complete victory which the Imperialists obtained is to be ascribed. The slaughter, rather than the fight, lasted from ten in the morning till late at night. The two preceding ages, though remarkable for battles, had not produced so bloody a combat. The Ottomans, broken by the enemy in the front, were at the same time attacked in the rear. In less than an hour after the first onset, resistance was at an end on the side of the Turks; but the rest of the day was spent in butchery and blood. All endeavoured to gain a bridge, which opened a communication with the opposite shore of the river, and was the only passage through which to retreat; but it was rendered impassable by the heaps of slain. To escape the fury of the sword, thousands threw themselves into the river, and were drowned. Thirty thousand were said to lie dead on the field, before night afforded safety to a few fugitives. The Turkish camp, the sultan's magnificent pavilion, the stores, the provisions, the ammunition, all the cannon and baggage, fell into the hands of the victor. The grand vizier was killed; the seal of the empire taken; the aga of the janissaries, and twenty-seven bashaws, were found among the slain. Never was victory more complete.

The peace had been signed on the 10th day of September, by all the parties in the war except the emperor, and he acceded to it on the 20th day of October.

King William having finished this important transaction, returned to England about the middle of November, and was received in London amidst the acclamations of the people, who now again hailed him as their deliverer.

The peace of Ryswick gave the greatest satisfaction to the nation in general, and to the trading

part in particular: that it did so, may appear from the numerous addressees of thanks and congratulation, which were sent up from all parts of the kingdom, to felicitate his majesty upon that occasion, and to express their just sense of being delivered from the burthen and expence of so bloody and destructive a war. Neither ought it at all to abate the merit of this treaty, that the French struck medals, magnifying their success in the war, and describing themselves as a match for all the rest of Europe; since if they had really been so victorious, and had gained such advantages, the wonder was, that they should stoop to such a peace. But though it may be true, that in many respects the French had the advantage in this war, yet undoubtedly they foresaw they were unable to support so vast an expence as it brought upon them; and as their weakness encreased much faster in proportion than that of the maritime powers, this, in a few campaigns, would have quite changed the face of things, and either brought on the total ruin of France, or obliged her to make peace upon still worse terms than were demanded now.

It must therefore be allowed, to the honour of this reign, and of this administration, that however they managed the war, they gained by the peace, all, and indeed more than could be expected. By the fifth article, the free use of commerce or navigation was restored between the subjects of both kings. By the seventh, all places taken during the war, either in Europe or in America, were restored. As great care was taken of our allies, every thing was stipulated for them which, with any shew of justice, they could desire; so that by the conclusion of this treaty, the general peace of Europe was reestablished, and we were left at full liberty to improve the advantage afforded thereby,

for

for rectifying what was amiss in the domestic œconomy, for extending commerce, and lightening the burdens of the people.

The king opened the session of parliament on the 3d day of December, and in the speech which he delivered on that occasion he asserted, that the naval force of England was then near double what it was at his accession * †.

About this time, Peter, czar of Muscovy, resolved to visit foreign countries, for the improvement of his own dominions. This extraordinary legislator, who was a strange compound of heroism and barbarity, conscious of the defects in his edu-

* Chandler's Debates.

† The loss sustained by the French in their navy, during the war, from the year 1688 to 1697, appears to have been as follows :

No. of Ships.	Force.	Total of Guns.
2	of 104 Guns.	208
1	of 90	90
2	of 80	160
3	of 76	228
1	of 74	74
1	of 70	70
1	of 68	68
2	of 60	120
4	of 56	224
1	of 50	50
1	of 48	48
1	of 42	42
1	of 40	40
5	of 32	160
5	of 30	150
3	of 28	140
1	of 26	26
3	of 24	72
3	of 20	60
6	of 18	108
1	of 16	16
2	of 12	24
6	of 10	60
1	of 6	6
Total 59		Total 2244

The loss sustained by the English in their navy, during the war, from the year 1688 to 1697.

No. of Ships.	Force.	Total of Guns.
1	of 70 Guns.	70
1	of 54	54
2	of 48	96
1	of 46	46
3	of 42	126
3	of 36	108
6	of 32	192
2	of 30	60
4	of 24	96
2	of 18	36
2	of 16	32
2	of 12	24
11	of 10	110
5	of 8	40
1	of 6	6
4	of 4	16

Total 50 Total 1112

The number of guns on board the French ships, which were either taken or burnt, more than in the English, were 1132, and most of them much superior in the weight of metal which they carried.

cation, and of the gross ignorance that overspread his dominions, resolved to extend his ideas, and improve his judgment by travelling; and that he might be the less restricted by forms, or interrupted by officious curiosity, he determined to travel in disguise. He was extremely ambitious of becoming a maritime power, and in particular, of maintaining a fleet in the Black Sea; and his immediate aim was to learn the principles of ship-building. He appointed an embassy for Holland, to regulate some points of commerce with the States-general. Having intrusted the care of his dominions to persons in whom he could confide, he disguised himself, and travelled as one of the retinue in his own embassy. He first disclosed himself to the elector of Brandenburg in Prussia, and afterwards to king William, with whom he conferred in private at Utrecht. He engaged himself as a common labourer with a ship-carpenter in Holland, whom he served, for some months, with wonderful patience and assiduity: he afterwards visited England, where he amused himself chiefly with the same kind of occupation. From thence he set out for Vienna, where receiving advices from his dominions, that his sister was concerned in managing intrigues against his government, he returned suddenly to Moscow, and found the machinations of the conspirators were already baffled by the vigilance and fidelity of the foreigners to whom he had left the care of the administration. His savage nature, however, broke out upon this occasion: he ordered some hundreds to be hanged all round his capital; and a good number were beheaded, he himself, with his own hand, performing the office of executioner*.

* Smollett's History of England, Vol. IX. p. 141.

The foreign trade of France continued to languish after the peace. Holland reaped much more benefit with her trade from France, than England did, or could. The latter had been accustomed, before the war broke out, to make large remittances to France in specie, for wines, brandies, paper, stuffs, linen, hats, silks, and many other things, besides the merchandize exported thither; so that the balance of trade was always in favour of France. No sooner therefore was peace restored, than commissioners were sent over to London, with powers to regulate the trade between the two nations. These agents found insurmountable difficulties in prosecuting their business, not only on account of the high duties laid by the English parliament on French goods, which were rendered permanent by being applied to various uses; but likewise because the English, during the late long war, had learnt to do without the merchandize of France, and the channel of trade was, in many respects, entirely altered. The English merchants supplied the nation with wines from Italy, Spain, and Portugal; with linens from Holland and Silesia; the French refugees settled in England, now manufactured paper, stuffs, silks, and hats. France likewise had not abated, in the least, of those high duties on English manufactures, which, in effect, amounted to a prohibition of them; it was not therefore possible for France and England to conclude any tariff, or treaty of commerce together, which could be advantageous to the latter.

Debates, on the expediency of enlarging the stock of the East-India Company, employed the latter part of this long session of parliament. The company had obtained, in September 1694, a new charter, to the exclusion of the interlopers on their trade. These interlopers, consisting of some capital
merchants,

merchants, had been, for several sessions, supported in their pretensions by various votes of the commons. The old company, by the suggestions of some persons in power, offered seven hundred thousand pounds, at four per cent. for the service of government, upon condition of having their own exclusive charter confirmed by an act of parliament. The other merchants, protected by Montague, chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed to the house of commons, to advance two millions, at eight per cent. in consideration of an exclusive trade, to be vested in the subscribers. A bill was ordered to be brought in upon this offer, for settling of the commerce to the East-Indies. The old company petitioned in vain against the bill in the lower house; they followed it to no purpose in the lords. The royal assent was given on the 5th day of July; and such was the eagerness of the nation to employ their money in the stock of the new company, that the subscription of two millions was filled in the space of three days.

A reconciliation now took place between the king and the earl of Marlborough, who was appointed governor of the duke of Gloucester, and declared one of the lords-justices for the administration of government, during his majesty's intended absence abroad.

Fresh commotions in the south of Europe already seemed brooding. Charles the Second, king of Spain, though in the flower of his age, was in so declining a state of health, that his death was visibly approaching. A great dispute arose about dividing the spoils of this monarch.

In the summer of the year 1698, king William went over to Holland, where a treaty of partition was concluded between England, France, and the States, concerning the succession of the Spanish dominions,

dominions, when the king of Spain should die. By this treaty, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with several other places, particularly those on the French side of the Pyrenees, were to be given to the dauphin of France; Spain, the Spanish Netherlands, and their dominions in America, were to devolve to the electoral prince of Bavaria; and the dutchy of Milan to the archduke Charles, the emperor's second son. In the beginning of the year 1700, a second treaty was concluded, on occasion of the death of the electoral prince of Bavaria, whose share was now assigned to the archduke Charles; and the duke of Lorrain, whose country was to be given to France, was to have the dutchy of Milan. King William's design in this treaty was, doubtless, to create a proper balance of power in Europe; to prevent the too great aggrandizement of France, and a ruinous war; but he was only amused by the French king, who, though he himself proposed this partition, had, at the same time, another design in view; and made use of this treaty to accomplish it: for the Spaniards being enraged at having their monarchy thus dismembered, without their consent, Louis XIV. by his intrigues at the court of Madrid, under the pretence of preserving the Spanish monarchy entire, brought the king of Spain to sign a will, in which he made Philip, duke of Anjou, Lewis's grandson, the sole heir to all his dominions.

We have already spoken of the efforts made by the Scotch, under the direction of Paterfon, to establish a colony on the Isthmus of Darien; it now becomes proper to speak of that transaction more circumstantially. The scheme was doubtless a very inviting one, and was liable to only one objection, namely, that it clashed with the interests of all the colonizing and trading nations of Europe. When the

the design was first set on foot in 1695, three hundred thousand pounds was subscribed in a few days in England: the like sum was raised in Scotland. Such a capital was deemed equal to the accomplishment of the design; but a doubt arose, whether the contributions from England would be permitted by the government to be made good. The projector therefore went to Amsterdam, where the project was much relished, and large subscriptions would have been obtained, but the magistrates seeing its interference with the interests of the state, prohibited all subscriptions thereto. Being disappointed from that quarter, Paterfon went to Hamburgh, where he soon obtained two hundred thousand pounds. A capital being now formed of eight hundred thousand pounds, and farther assistance being reckoned upon from Scotland, if it should be required, the company set about building ships, and providing every thing necessary for an establishment of such importance. Presently the parliament of England took the alarm; both houses addressed the king, in which they set forth the prodigious losses England would sustain in her commerce and shipping, and consequently the reduction of the royal revenue, if such a settlement from Scotland was suffered to be founded. The house of commons also enquiring into the subscriptions made in England, the managers thereof disappeared, and two of them were impeached by that house. The first subscription money was therefore repaid to the subscribers, whereby three hundred thousand pounds was at once cut off from this new company's capital. Sir Paul Ricaut, the English minister at Hamburgh, exerted himself so effectually, as to put a stop to all subscriptions being made there, so that two hundred thousand pounds more was withdrawn, after it had cost thirty thousand pounds to obtain it.

it. The council-general and the court of directors of the Scotch company, petitioned the king; addressees were presented to him from all parts of Scotland, praying that he would assemble the Scotch parliament; and notwithstanding no assistance could be drawn from London, Amsterdam, or Hamburgh, the Scotch raised among themselves an additional one hundred thousand pounds, so that the entire capital in Scotland, was four hundred thousand pounds sterling. They insisted that the country of Darien, which they determined to plant, was never planted nor settled by Spain, but was always under the independent government of its own Indian chiefs, who for the most part were ever in a state of enmity with the Spaniards. Having thus, as they thought, established their right, they fitted out five stout ships, and sent out one thousand two hundred men, together with all kinds of implements for war and commerce. These new settlers sailed from Scotland in the year 1698, among whom were many brave and experienced men, who had served in the late war, and were dismissed at the peace of Ryswick. The same year they landed in Darien, and immediately erected a fort, and formed a plantation on a point of land, within which they found a safe and capacious harbour. They called their fort St. Andrew, and their intended town New Edinburgh. Recruits of two ships, and three hundred men, at one time; and of four ships, and thirteen hundred men, at another time, with stores, were sent after them, all which, together with several other ships and supplies, met with misfortunes on their passage to Darien, which track of land they had now called Caledonia; exultingly calling their settlement the height of the world, as lying between the South Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. Their views were from the

first very towering, for they intended to make settlements on each side the Isthmus, on both shores, whereby they flattered themselves, that they should be beforehand with all the trading nations of Europe; by being able to supply Peru and Mexico with whatever they wanted from Europe, and in return supplying Europe with the treasure and other produce of those two rich empires. Great as these objects were, they did not bound the prospects of this insatiable company. From the port which they intended to open on the side of the Isthmus towards the South Sea, they proposed carrying on a trade to Japan and China, which voyage might be performed in six weeks; and as the neck of land across which the goods were to be conveyed, in order to be shipped for Europe, was no more than a few leagues in breadth, they computed that in four or five months, the valuable produce of the eastern extremity of the Indies might be transported to Europe; which would enable them to supply the market upon better terms than any of the East India Companies that then existed, and who were obliged to fetch a compass round the southern extremity of Africa.

It is really surprizing, that all these flattering considerations did not convince the adventurers that their scheme was impracticable, from the magnitude of the benefits resulting from it; as it tended to invest the Scotch nation at once, with every commercial advantage, to the prejudice of all Europe. But whilst the rapacity of the adventurers so hoodwinked their judgments, as to prevent their seeing the most obvious consequences, all Europe united to crush this towering company in its outset. The Spanish ambassador at London, presented a very sharp memorial to king William, against the Darien settlement, which he termed,

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“ An insult of the Scotch, in attempting to settle themselves in the very heart of the Spanish dominions in America; and which his master therefore looked upon as a breach of the alliance subsisting between the two crowns.” It was in vain for the Scotch to urge, in their defence, that they had at least as good a right to settle in Darien, as the French had to settle on Hispaniola, and on the banks of the Mississippi; or the Dutch at Surinam; all which had been esteemed parts of the Spanish dominions in America, and were generally surrounded with Spanish colonies. The Dutch were no less active than the Spaniards in this business; and the French foresaw the ruin of their West India commerce, which now began to be considerable, in the establishment of this settlement: they therefore offered their assistance to Spain, to drive the Scotch out of Darien, at the very time that they were founding a French colony in the bay of Mexico, at the mouth of the great river Mississippi, which had always been considered as a part of Spanish Florida; and were extending the recent footing they had gained on the island of Hispaniola, which from the time of its first discovery by Columbus, until then had been in the hands of the Spaniards solely. The parliament and people of England were no less solicitous about the destruction of the Scotch colony than foreign powers; so that the king was necessitated to send instructions in January, 1698-9, to the governors of the several American colonies, strictly to prohibit all correspondence with the Scotch at Darien. The colonies of New England and New York were desirous to assist this infant settlement, by supplying it with necessaries, as its success would have opened a new and large market for their fish, corn, pork, beef, butter, &c. but in the spring of the year

1699, proclamations were published, strictly prohibiting, under the severest penalties, the people's holding any correspondence with, or giving any kind of assistance to, the Scots at Darien. This was an unexpected and fatal blow to the new settlers. Jamaica and New York had till then afforded them a comfortable supply of necessaries, which being now at once withheld, drove the unhappy emigrants into despair, and necessitated them to abandon the colony on the 20th day of June, 1699, after they had bravely defended it against troops of Spaniards who had attacked it. From the miseries which they suffered in consequence of being thus proscribed by government, it is generally asserted, that out of so many stout men who went thither, scarce a hundred returned to Scotland: but we are not to suppose that the rest perished; as great numbers, no doubt, gained some kind of settlement, either in the American continent, or in some one or other of the West Indian islands; as the Scots, in whatever quarter of the world they sojourn, bear a strong affection for their native country, without being anxiously impatient to return to it.

This disaster greatly inflamed the Scotch parliament and people, against their southern neighbours. The company petitioned the king for redress, whilst they were endeavouring to repossess their colony, by sending out ships thither with men and stores; but this persevering spirit was repressed by fresh proclamations being issued the latter end of the year. Some of the ships from Scotland, being driven by distress into the American ports, are said to have been denied the refreshments and assistance which they stood in need of; one of their ships, with a valuable cargo, being driven under the walls of Carthagena, was seized by the Spaniards, who had now blocked up the remains of the Scotch settlement.

tlement both by sea and land, and at length forced the few people that remained therein to surrender. King William, in his answer to the company's petition, expressed his concern at their loss, declared himself always ready to protect and encourage the commerce of Scotland. He likewise recommended to the English house of lords, in answer to their address, as the best expedient for healing the rancour of the minds of both nations, to unite them more completely, that after the two nations had been governed for near a hundred years under the same head, they might at length become one people, which he therefore earnestly recommended to their consideration; whereupon the lords passed a bill for an union, which, however, the commons at that time rejected. Paterfon, the projector of this ill-fated scheme, was so much regarded for his merit and public services, that the house of commons, in the year 1713, voted him eighteen thousand two hundred and twenty pounds ten shillings and ten-pence, in consequence of the resolutions of the house on the 4th day of March 1707. But to return to the aspect of public affairs in Europe.

The partition treaty, which had been entered into between England and France, by which the Spanish dominions were to be divided between the archduke Charles, and the dauphin of France, as soon as the reigning prince should die, gave great umbrage to the court of Spain, and the marquis de Canailles, the Spanish ambassador, delivered a memorial upon that occasion, couched in the most pointed terms of invective. William, on the receipt of this insolent paper, directed his secretary Vernon, to signify to that minister, that he must depart the kingdom in eighteen days, and at the same time ordered his ambassador at the court of Madrid, to complain of the affront offered to his person.

person. The king of Spain hereupon avowed the conduct of his ambassador, and ordered the English minister to depart the kingdom within the same space of time.

These disputes between William and Spain, neither hastened nor retarded the second treaty of partition, which that prince concluded the next year with France. His attention was not confined to the subject of the Spanish succession, though the declining health of Charles the Second, threatened Europe with those miseries which it soon after experienced. The king of England employed his good offices in suppressing a flame, which seemed ready to be kindled in the north. Christian the Fifth, king of Denmark, dying on the 4th day of September 1699, was succeeded in the throne by his son Frederic the Fourth, who inheriting the resentment, and pursuing the designs of his father against the duke of Holstein Gottorp, began to make great preparations both by sea and land, to reduce that prince to the terms which he prescribed. The duke, on the other hand, had strengthened his interest by a marriage with the princess-royal of Sweden; he himself was commander in chief of the troops of that kingdom, and he had obtained a force from his brother-in-law, Charles the Twelfth, to resist the attacks which might be made on him from Denmark. A private treaty had been entered into between the kings of Denmark and Poland, the elector of Brandenburg, and Peter Alexiowitz, czar of Muscovy, by which it was agreed, to strip the young Swedish monarch of the most valuable of his territories, and particular districts were therein assigned to each of the confederating powers. The king of Sweden finding himself thus beset with enemies, addressed himself to king William, and the States-general, as guaranties of the treaties made for

for securing the tranquillity of the north, by maintaining a proper balance of power. All attempts to break this northern alliance against Sweden, by remonstrances, being found ineffectual, William determined on sending a fleet into the north, which should reason more forcibly than memorials or manifestoes. It was then debated in council, whether this step should be taken by the crown, without advising with the parliament, or whether the matter should be submitted to their discussion? On this point the ministry were divided, but the king's opinion determined the matter; he said, the executive part of the government was lodged in his hands, and therefore he would maintain the national faith by adhering to treaties, and acquaint the parliament therewith at their next meeting. A fleet of forty ships, English and Dutch, was therefore sent into the Baltic, with fire-ships and bomb-vessels, under the admirals Rooke and Allemonde, which arrived on the 20th day of July, at the mouth of the Sound. The fleet of Sweden, commanded by the king in person, having joined the allies, the Danish ships retired under the guns of Copenhagen. The king of Denmark was himself cooped up in Holstein, by some Swedish frigates cruising along the coast, while his capital was bombarded, though ineffectually, by the combined fleets of the allies. In this situation the active spirit of the young king of Sweden suggested to him the means of putting an end to the war, by one decisive stroke. He resolved to besiege Copenhagen by land, while the fleet blocked it up by sea: he made a descent at Humblebeck, opposite to Landskron, and was himself the first person who landed. These vigorous measures accelerated the treaty that was then negotiating. When Sir George Rooke found the Danes seriously disposed to treat, he refused to cover
with

with his ships the operations of the Swedish army, there being enough already done to secure a peace, which was signed on the 18th day of August, 1700; which left the king of Sweden at liberty to act against the czar and the king of Poland, who had both invaded his dominions at this juncture. Had the combined fleet acted as vigorously as the king of Sweden pressed the admiral to do, the Island of Zeeland must have been reduced, and, most probably, the city of Copenhagen, which was more than the maritime powers aimed at, or thought it politic to attempt. This spirit of moderation rendered the bombardment of so little effect; and the English admiral did not scruple to confess it. Charles complained to him, that the English bombs flew over, and those from the Dutch fell short of the Danish fleet, and that he wondered England and Holland should send so great a strength to do nothing. To which Rooke replied; "Sir, I was sent hither to serve your majesty, but not to ruin the king of Denmark." "Then," replied the king, smiling, "You have certainly executed your commission, and have made war in such a manner as will make a peace*."

In the beginning of July 1700, the king went over again to Holland; and on the 29th of the same month, died the duke of Gloucester, the only remaining child of seven of the prince and princess of Denmark. He died of a malignant fever, in the eleventh year of his age. The king tenderly loved him, and had appointed the earl of Marlborough his governor, and Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, his preceptor. His death was much lamented by the greatest part of the nation; not only on account of his promising talents and gentle behaviour, but as

* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. III. p. 266.

it left the succession to the crown undetermined, and might create disputes of fatal consequence to the nation.

Charles, king of Spain, dying towards the end of this year, the duke of Anjou was declared king of Spain, by his grandfather Louis XIV. And the French, at the same time, overrunning the Spanish Netherlands, both king William and the States were obliged to own the duke of Anjou's title, in order to gain time, till they were in a condition to oppose the designs of France.

The king, who was an admirable politician, saw plainly, that the Spanish succession, if it fell entirely into the hands of the house of Bourbon, would leave it absolutely in their power to give law to the rest of Europe, and to destroy that independency so necessary to Great-Britain and Holland, which was secured by the balance that had hitherto been kept between that family and the house of Austria. He saw too, that the sense which other powers had of their particular grievances, and immediate danger from the power of the French king, afforded the means of combining such a force, as might be able to bring that monarch to reason, and to consent to such an establishment as would leave things in their former state, and secure the several potentates of Europe in the possession of their just rights. This induced him to engage reciprocally papists and protestants, to support each others pretensions; for by the grand alliance, Great-Britain and the States undertook to procure satisfaction to the pope; as on the other hand the emperor, and other catholic princes, stipulated to support the protestant interest, and maintain the rights of the maritime powers in respect to their commerce. This it was that made the whole a common cause; and though these articles exposed the alliance to very popular

objections amongst party-men at home and abroad, yet to persons of judgment and sagacity, of clear heads and candid hearts, nothing could recommend it more. In all confederacies the good of the whole must be regarded, and to this the particular views of the separate princes and powers who compose it, must give way; and therefore if, considering things in this light, the general alliance formed against France in 1701, was right and well-founded, all the cavils raised against it from the party-spirit that prevailed here, were equally frivolous and unjust.

His majesty, soon after his return from Holland, dissolved the parliament; and, at the same time, to please those now distinguished by the name of the church-party, made some alterations in the ministry; having first called up to the house of lords Charles Montague, by the title of earl of Halifax. The new parliament meeting in February 1701, the king, in his speech, mentioning the death of the duke of Gloucester, recommended a farther provision in the protestant line after his death, and that of the princess Anne. The jacobites had openly exulted in an event, which they imagined would remove the principal bar to the accession of the son of James; but the protestants generally turned their eyes upon the princess Sophia; and on the 12th of June 1701, his majesty passed the famous act for the farther limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject, by which the crown was limited to the above princess Sophia, electress-dowager of Hanover, and her protestant heirs. She was grand-daughter of king James I. by his daughter Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia, and the mother of George I. afterwards king of Great-Britain.

When the resolution was once formed to have recourse again to arms, in order to preserve the balance of

of power, the first care was taken of the fleet, which his majesty resolved should be much superior to that of the enemy; his majesty being extremely sensible of the ill consequences that followed the want of this salutary precaution at the beginning of the last war. Preparatory to this was the new commission of the admiralty in the spring of the year 1701, at the head of which was placed the earl of Pembroke, a man universally beloved and esteemed. The command of the fleet was very judiciously bestowed upon Sir George Rooke, who, on the 2d of July, went on board the *Triumph* in the Downs, where he hoisted the flag. He soon after sailed to Spithead, where he was quickly joined by the rest of the fleet, consisting of forty-eight ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, and small vessels. He had under him some of the greatest seamen of the age, viz. Sir Cloudesley Shovel, Sir Thomas Hopson, John Benbow, Esq; and Sir John Munden; he was speedily joined by fifteen Dutch men of war of the line, besides frigates and small vessels, under the command of lieutenant-admiral Allemonde, vice-admiral Vandergoes, and rear-admiral Waessenare. The fleet was obliged to wait at St. Helens until the middle of August, for want of provisions; and when he put to sea, the wind blew in a few hours so high, that he was obliged to put into Torbay. Towards the latter end of the month he sailed again; and on the 2d of September he detached vice-admiral Benbow with a stout squadron for the West-Indies; and as this was the principal business of the fleet, and indeed a thing of itself of the highest importance, the admiral detached a strong squadron of English ships, under the command of Sir John Munden, and ten sail of Dutch men of war, besides frigates, under rear-admiral Waessenare, to see the West-India squadron well

into the sea. The French expected that this fleet would have actually proceeded to the Mediterranean; and indeed, to confirm them in this belief, we had demanded the free use of the Spanish harbours: but this was only to conceal things, and to gain an opportunity of sending a squadron early to the West-Indies, without putting it in the power of the French to gain any exact account of its strength: the admiral, after performing this, cruized according to his instructions for some time, and then returned, with the largest ships, into the Downs.

After this fleet was sent to sea, his majesty thought proper to revoke his letters-patent to the commissioners of the admiralty, and to appoint the right honourable Thomas earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, lord high-admiral of England and Ireland, and of the foreign plantations. The design of this promotion was, to be rid of the disadvantages attending a board: and this end it answered perfectly well; for his lordship immediately sent away captain Edmund Loades to Cadiz, to bring home the sea stores, and the merchants effects, before the war broke out; as also two hulks that had been left in that harbour from the time of the last war, for the greater conveniency of careening our ships which remained in that port. This the captain, with his small squadron, consisting but of three frigates, effectually performed. His lordship also took the like care of our trade in other parts; and by his extraordinary prudence, remarkable patience, and being very easy of access, gave much more satisfaction both to the merchants and to the officers of the fleet, than any of the boards of admiralty, since they were first introduced, had ever done.

Whilst the aspect of affairs menaced Europe with all the horrors of war, a triple alliance was concluded

cluded at the Hague, between the emperor of Germany, the king of England, and the republic of Holland *. The tendency of this treaty, was to secure to the emperor the Spanish succession, and to the maritime powers their dominions and commerce. It was thereby stipulated, that the parties engaged in this treaty, should use their endeavours for recovering the Spanish Netherlands, as a barrier between Holland and France; and the duchy of Milan, Naples, and Sicily, with the lands and islands on the coast of Tuscany, belonging to the Spanish dominions, should be attacked for the emperor. It was farther agreed, that the king of England, and the States-General, should keep and possess whatever settlements they might wrest from the Spaniards in the West Indies: that the confederates should faithfully communicate their designs to one another; that no one power should treat of peace or truce, but jointly with the rest: that they should concur in preventing the union of France and Spain under the same government, and hinder the French from possessing the Spanish Indies: that in concluding a peace, the confederates should provide for the maintenance of the commerce carried on by the maritime powers, to the dominions which might be taken from the Spaniards, and secure the states by a barrier: that they should at the same time assist each other with all their forces, in case of being invaded by the French king, or any other potentate, on account of this alliance: that a defensive alliance should remain with them even after the peace: that all kings, princes, and states, should be at liberty to engage in this alliance. They determined to employ two months to obtain, by amicable means, the satisfaction and security which they

* 7th September, 1701.

demand,

demanded, and stipulated that within six weeks the treaty should be ratified. The elector of Brandenburg and duke of Prussia, for the services which he had rendered the common interests of the German empire, and the grand alliance thus formed against France, the common enemy of the liberties of Europe, was by the interest of his kinsman, king William, acknowledged by most of the princes and states of Europe, as king of Prussia.

On the 16th of September, this same year, the late unhappy king James the Second died at St. Germaine, in France; and thereupon the French king having declared his pretended son to be king of the British realms, in direct violation of the peace of Ryfwick, lord Manchester, the English ambassador, was instantly recalled from France, and the French ambassador ordered forthwith to leave London; but no formal declaration of war ensued*.

The king of England however determined to take the field early in the next spring, and settled with the United Provinces, in the capacity of stadtholder, the operations of the campaign. The emperor indeed pressed him to break immediately with France; but he had lately suffered so much from the refractoriness of the English house of commons, that he prudently declined entering upon hostilities without their approbation and aid.

King William arrived in England in November to meet a new parliament, which was to assemble on the 30th day of December, on which occasion

* If the recent charge brought against king William, of having agreed that the son of James should succeed him on the throne, had been well-founded, it is somewhat remarkable that Louis did not avail himself of that concession now, as the circulating of such a charge would have been an indelible stain on the character of William, and, in some measure, have justified the step which the French king took, in acknowledging that infant king of England; and he stood in great need of some plausible excuse upon this occasion.

he

he delivered an excellent speech to both houses, on the posture of public affairs; the conduct of the French king; the dangers that threatened Europe by a grandson of Louis XIV. possessing the throne of Spain; and informed them of the alliances he had entered into, with a view to avert the impending dangers*. To this speech both houses returned the most satisfactory addresses: the house of commons proposed, that it might be an article in the several treaties of alliance, "that no peace should be made with France, until his majesty, and the nation, received reparation for the indignity offered by the French king, in declaring the pretended prince of Wales king of England, Scotland, and Ireland." They then voted, that forty thousand men should be granted for the service of the fleet for the ensuing year, and shewed such an inclination to enter heartily into all measures necessary to render the grand alliance effectual, that the French, who little expected that such a spirit would be shewn in this parliament, were greatly alarmed, and began to preface, that the war which they were entering upon would distress them more than that which had been lately concluded. Louis XIV. was now above sixty years of age, and being more retired within his palace, could not so well distinguish the characters of men. All those great statesmen and generals which had formerly advanced him to the pinnacle of fame were dead; and though he arrogantly assumed to himself the merit of their exertions, he now sensibly experienced, that he was incapable of supplying their loss. His subjects had scarce had time to breathe, after those long-

* This speech was received with universal applause; and was so much admired by the friends of liberty and the revolution, that it was printed with decorations in the English, Dutch, and French languages, and was hung up in all their houses, as the king's last legacy to his own, and all Protestant people.

continued

continued struggles that had drained their coffers; exhausted their strength, and impaired their spirits. The commerce, which had been interrupted by the late war, had not returned to the old channel. His own misconduct had likewise contributed to impoverish his kingdom. At one time he had raised, and at another reduced the value of money, which had left the people in such a state of uncertainty with regard to their property, that they exported their specie into other countries; whilst the king himself assisted in draining his kingdom, by remitting great sums into Flanders and Italy to maintain his armies; and into Germany to gain the favour of princes, who soon after deserted his cause.

To render his situation still more embarrassed, the kingdom, which his grandson had newly acquired, by being destitute of the means of defence, became a burden instead of an aid to France. The Spanish monarchy, vulnerable on every side, was rendered weak in proportion to its magnitude. Its finances were exhausted, and the people grown supine and spiritless, had totally forgot the characteristic value and skill of their ancestors, when Spanish troops, led on by Spanish generals, were the dread and the scourge of Europe.

Whilst vigorous measures were taken in England to begin the war the ensuing spring, attention was, however, paid to a point which nearly concerned trade, and that was the uniting the two East India companies, which was done under an act of arbitration, wherein lord Godolphin and Mr. Harley, afterwards earl of Oxford, were for the old company, and lord Halifax for the new. By this instrument it was agreed, that the old company's stock in the funds, should be transferred to the new; and that the old company should purchase of the

new

new as much of their stock as, with that which was transferred by the old, should make up a moiety of the capital of the united companies. The old company were likewise to give an equivalent for the new company's dead stock. During seven years, each company was to have an equal power in the administration of the fund and trade; and to that end twelve persons were to be yearly appointed by the general courts of each company respectively, who were to be styled, *Managers of the United Trade to India*; and after these seven years were expired, the old company were to surrender their charters, and the new company was thenceforward to change its style, and to be called, *The United Company of Merchants trading to the East-Indies*: and this agreement was the foundation of that compact, which has subsisted with so great credit to themselves, and benefit to the nation, ever since*.

The feeble constitution of William was now become unequal to the great exertions of his mind. Exhausted by the toils of government, his health never settled or vigorous, had, for some time, visibly declined, although he was at this time only in the fifty-second year of his age. In this state of his health an accident happened to him, which, most probably, hastened his end: in riding from Kensington to Hampton-Court, his horse fell under him, and threw him upon the ground with such violence, as produced a fracture in his collar-bone. He was conveyed to Hampton-Court, where the fracture was reduced. The king survived this hurt only fifteen days, though it does not appear that it was the immediate cause of his death. He died on the 8th day of March, 1701-2, as he had lived, with great steadiness of mind, and shewed himself, in his

* Kennet's Complete History of England, Burnet, Oldmixon, Life of King William, &c.

last moments, as much a hero as he had ever been in the field. He had reigned thirteen years.

William III. was of a middle stature, a thin body, and delicate constitution; subject to an asthma, and continual cough, from his infancy. He had an aquiline nose, sparkling eyes, a large forehead, and a grave solemn aspect. He was naturally taciturn; and when he spoke his conversation was dry, and his manner disgusting, except in battle, when his deportment was free, spirited, and animating*. "He left," says Voltaire, "the reputation of a great politician, though he was never popular, and of a formidable general, though he lost many battles." The truth is, never any prince better understood the general interest of Europe, or pursued it with greater firmness; and whatever unlucky accidents fell out in his reign to the prejudice of the nation, they ought to be imputed to the circumstances of the times, and the party-spirit which divided the nation, rather than to the king's misconduct. He was acquainted with most of the European languages, yet could not speak any one with elegance, for he was a man of more judgment and reflection than imagination: he had an utter dislike to flattery, herein, as in most other parts of his character, being strongly contrasted to Louis XIV. Though he ascended the throne of England by the urgent invitation of all parties in the nation, yet he reigned without being beloved; for which many causes may be assigned: by his birth, education, and connections, he was a Dutchman; his predilection therefore for his countrymen could not fail of making him enemies among the English nobility; add to this, that he could never appear delighted with those he despised. "There was a simplicity, an elevation, and an utility in all the actions of Wil-

* Smollett's History of England, Vol. IX. p. 261.

liam's

liam's life. The last treaty which he signed was the grand alliance; the last act of parliament that he passed, was one which completed the security of the Hanover succession; and the last message he sent to parliament, while he was in a manner expiring, was, to recommend an union between two parts of the island which had been too long divided *." That the Seven United Provinces did not lose their liberty by being conquered by France; that this island did not sink into the most abject slavery; that the protestant religion was not abolished by law in every country in Europe, appears, under God, to have been owing to him. To him it is owing, that mankind now see the singular spectacle of a monarchy, in which the sovereign derives a degree of greatness and security from the liberty of his people, which treasures and arms cannot bestow upon other princes. His great crime among the patrons of the slavish doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance was, that he preferred the religious and civil liberty of mankind, to his father-in-law's enjoying the splendor of a crown, and that he accepted of that crown, when it was freely offered him by the people he had saved: but this was necessary, both for the security of England and of his native country; and he, perhaps, felt the cruelty of this necessity, much more than those who censure him for complying with it: for Sir John Dalrymple asserts, that he has seen an original letter from lord Portland to king William, after the peace of Ryswick, in which that nobleman informs him; that, according to his orders, he had offered a pension of fifty thousand pounds a year to king James; and that at a time when it was far from being as certain as it is now, that this prince had not employed the assassins

* Dalrymple's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 245.

who attempted to murder him. In his private character he was religious, temperate, just, sincere, and a stranger to violent gusts of passion.

Towards the latter end of this reign, captain Dampier, in the king's ship the *Roebuck*, having sailed into the South-Sea upon new discoveries, after various adventures, sailed round the eastermost coast of New-Guinea, and discovered a large island to the northward, which he named New-Britain. This navigator, in passing between New-Britain and New-Guinea, discovered several small islands to which he gave names.

In the eleventh year of king William's reign an act passed, respecting the Newfoundland trade and fishery: thereby all British subjects were authorized to trade thither, and to fish on its banks. By the same statute it was ordained, that the first fishing-ship that should arrive at any of the harbours, or creeks of Newfoundland, should be deemed admiral there for that season: the second ship so arriving, should be vice-admiral; and the third, rear-admiral: which three admirals were empowered to decide controversies concerning places or stations in harbours, stages, cockrooms, &c. there. Every by-boat-keeper there was directed to carry with him two fresh men in every six; one of whom should have made but one voyage, and the other should have never been at sea before. To render this fishery yet a farther nursery for seamen, every inhabitant was required to employ two such fresh men in every boat kept by them. Also every master of a fishing-ship was directed to carry with him one man that had never been at sea before, for every five sailors on board his vessel.

The revenue of the post-office of England has been deemed a pretty certain criterion, by which to judge

judge of the state of commerce in the nation; the net revenue from whence, in 1699, is said to have been, ninety thousand five hundred and four pounds ten shillings and sixpence*.

£.

The same year, according to Dr. D'Avenant, the exports from all England } 6,788,166
 into foreign parts, amounted to -
 Whereof, the value of our woollen manufactures alone, was 2,932,292*l*.
 The value of the imports was - 5,640,506

Balance of trade in favour of }
 England, in the year 1699 } 1,147,660

In the year 1700, the French king erected a new council of commerce, composed of his principal ministers of state and finances, and of twelve merchants, chosen from the commercial towns of the kingdom, viz. two from Paris, and one from each of the following; Rouen, Bourdeaux, Lyons, Marseilles, Rochelle, Nantes, St. Malo, Lisse, Bayonne, and Dunkirk. This council was appointed to meet at least once a week, and to take into consideration all commercial matters, as well by land as by sea, internal as foreign. This body was to receive proposals, schemes, petitions, &c. and to determine commercial disputes. The twelve merchants were to be annually chosen by the magistrates of the eleven cities which delegated them. From the first erection of this famous new council, or board of commerce, we may date the great and rapid increase of the commerce, woollen manufacture, mercantile shipping, and foreign colonies of France. The genius of the French nation, when relieved from

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. II. p. 227.

the

the shackles which its government lay on it, may be clearly proved from the manner in which this public-spirited plan was prosecuted, and which may be gathered from the memorials of this council of commerce, which were presented to the king's royal council the year after its institution. Therein appear sound judgment, great labour at coming at facts, and consummate knowledge of the subjects to which their enquiries were directed. In speaking of the French Levant trade, they say, "that the English carry on that trade with much more advantage than the French, their woollen cloths being better and cheaper. The English also carry to the Levant, lead, pewter, copperas, and logwood, which are goods they are masters of; together with a great deal of pepper: and that they may not drain their country of its gold and silver, they also take in dry fish of their own catching, sugar of their own colonies, and other goods of their own product, which they sell on the coasts of Portugal, Spain, and Italy, for pieces of eight, which they carry to the Levant, to make up a stock sufficient to purchase their homeward cargoes.—The trade which Great-Britain now carries on to those parts, has fatally declined since this memorial was penned!

The national debt, at the demise of king William, somewhat exceeded fourteen millions, which laid the foundation for our present immense debt, and furnished a fatal precedent for succeeding reigns. It has been the opinion of able financiers, that the war which king William was necessarily forced into against France, if frugally conducted, would not have required such baneful anticipations for long terms. A judicious writer observes, "that at the first setting out of the war, the charges of it were defrayed by the common mode of levying taxes; and the money required for each year's expence,

was

was raised and paid within the year. Anticipations there were indeed, and had been so in former reigns, but these lasted only a few months: land-taxes, polls, additional duties on customs, excises, &c. were the ways and means by which the public charges were defrayed; the year generally supported its own demands; all the loans were supposed to be temporary, and to end with the collection*." This evil, once introduced, became more weighty in every succeeding reign, and laid heavy clogs on the commerce, manufactures, and navigation of the nation, as well as on the landed interest.

We cannot close our account of this reign better than by an abstract of the royal navy, as it stood at the decease of king William, that the reader, by comparing it with the abstract at the close of the preceding reign, may from thence discern how far, notwithstanding so long a war, and so many other interruptions and misfortunes, our naval force increased in the space of thirteen years.

ABSTRACT of the ROYAL NAVY, as it stood
December 25, 1701.

Rates.	Number.		Guns.	Men.
First	7	} carrying	714	5312
Second	14		1276	8824
Third	45		3199	18561
Fourth	63		3253	15329
Fifth	36		1094	4680
Sixth	29		542	1215
	194		10078	53921
Fire-ships	8			
Bomb-vessels	13			
Yachts	10			

* D'Arenant on Loans, published in the year 1710.

C H A P. III.

The Naval History of GREAT-BRITAIN; its Trade, Commerce, and Marine, from the Accession of Queen ANNE to the Union of the Two Kingdoms.

*The Queen's first Speech to her Parliament—She resolves to abide by the Alliances formed by King William—War declared against France—Bounties granted by Parliament for shipping Naval Stores from America—First Growth of Rice in Carolina—Campaign of 1702—Expedition to Cadiz, by the Duke of Ormond and Sir George Rooke—Success before Vigo—Admiral Benbow in the West-Indies—Campaign of 1703—Parliamentary Enquiries into the Conduct of Sir George Rooke—Sir Cloudesley Shovel in the Mediterranean—Admiral Grayden's Expedition to the West-Indies—The new King of Spain arrives in England—Enquiry into Naval Affairs—Treaty of Commerce between England and Portugal—Memorable Storm—Campaign of 1704—Battle of Blenheim—Gibraltar taken by Sir George Rooke—Sea-fight off Malaga—Supplies granted by Parliament—Conduct of Parties in England—Campaign of 1705—Death of the Emperor of Germany—Prosperous State of the Commerce, Plantations, and Manufactures of England—Part of the French Fleet destroyed, and Gibraltar relieved by Sir Thomas Dilkes—The Earl of Peterborough, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, reduce Barcelona—Rapid Progress of the English Arms in Spain—New Parliament—Progress towards an Union with Scotland—Campaign of 1706—Battle of Ramillies—The English Fleet force the French to raise the
Siege*

Siege of Barcelona—Victory at Turin, by Prince Eugene—Distressed Condition of France—Campaign of 1707—Sir Cloudesley Shovel sent to the Relief of the King of Spain—Battle of Almanza—Siege of Toulon—Sir Cloudesley Shovel shipwrecked—Meeting of the first Parliament of Great-Britain—Computation of the Amount of the Gold and Silver Coin of Scotland at the Union.

ON the death of king William, the princess Anne of Denmark succeeded to the crown, in consequence of the act of succession passed in the year 1689, being the eldest surviving daughter of James II. She was then in the thirty-eighth year of her age, and assumed the reins of government to the general satisfaction of all parties.

On the 11th the queen made a speech to both houses of parliament, in which she told them, that "she could not too much lament her unhappiness in succeeding to the crown, immediately after the loss of a king, who was the great support, not only of the liberties of this kingdom, but of all Europe; that she was sensible of the weight and difficulty it brought on her, and that it should be her constant endeavours to make them the best return for their duty and affection, by a careful and diligent administration of the government, for the good of all her subjects; and was glad to find them of her mind, that too much could not be done for the encouragement of her allies, and to reduce the exorbitant power of France." Addresses were presented her by the bishop and clergy of London; by the dissenters in and about that metropolis, and by all the cities, towns, and corporations of England. In return, she declared her attachment to the church, promised protection to the dissenters, and received the compliments of all her subjects, with an affability that engaged their affection.

The States of Holland, on receiving the news of William's death, immediately assembled, and, for some time, gazed at each other in silent fear and astonishment. They wept, they interchanged embraces and vows, that they would act with unanimity, and expend their dearest blood in defence of their country. Meanwhile, the new queen having declared the earl of Marlborough captain-general of all her forces, and invested him with the order of the Garter, wrote a letter to the States-general, to assure them of her inviolable friendship, and her resolution to maintain her alliance with them, and to prosecute the plan which had been formed by her predecessor. She then sent Marlborough as her ambassador extraordinary to Holland, to concert measures with that republic.

The news of William's death no sooner reached France, than the whole kingdom joined in demonstrations of joy : public rejoicings were made at Paris, and the court of Versailles could hardly restrain the popular transports within any bounds of decorum. At Rome all decency was laid aside ; such tumultuous transports of joy were there expressed, that cardinal Grimani, the Imperial minister, signified his dissatisfaction to the pope, and considered them as insults on his master, who was the friend, confederate, and ally of the king of England.

The earl of Marlborough succeeded in every part of his negotiation with the United Provinces. He excited the Dutch to cooperate with the rest of the allies in the most effectual manner ; and adjusted all the necessary preparations for the ensuing campaign. He agreed with the States-general, and the Imperial minister, that war should be declared against France at Vienna, London, and the Hague, on the same day. Early in April he embarked for England, having, by his abilities and address, ac-

quired

quired the entire confidence of the Dutch government*.

Whilst affairs were thus conducting abroad, the house of commons entered into the measures recommended from the throne with great zeal and unanimity. They settled upon the queen, during

* The character of this great statesman and general, is thus drawn by the late earl of Chesterfield, in one of his letters written to his son Mr. Stanhope.

OF all the men that ever I knew in my life, (and I knew him extremely well) the late duke of Marlborough possessed the graces in the highest degree, not to say engrossed them; and indeed he got the most by them; for I will venture (contrary to the custom of profound historians, who always assign deep causes for great events) to ascribe the better half of the duke of Marlborough's greatness and riches to those graces. He was eminently illiterate; wrote bad English, and spelled it still worse. He had no share of what is commonly called *parts*; that is, he had no brightness, nothing shining in his genius. He had, most undoubtedly, an excellent good plain understanding, with sound judgment. But these alone would probably have raised him but something higher than they found him, which was page to king James the Second's queen. There the graces protected and promoted him; for while he was an ensign of the guards, the duchess of Cleveland, then favourite mistress to king Charles the Second, struck by those very graces, gave him five thousand pounds, with which he immediately bought an annuity for his life, of my grandfather, Halifax †; which was the foundation of his subsequent fortune. His figure was beautiful, but his manner was irresistible, by either man or woman. It was by this engaging, graceful manner, that he was enabled, during all his war, to connect the various and jarring powers of the grand alliance, and to carry them on to the main object of the war, notwithstanding their private and separate views, jealousies, and wrongheadednesses. Whatever court he went to, (and he was often obliged to go himself to some resty and refractory ones) he as constantly prevailed, and brought them into his measures. The pensionary Heinsius, a venerable old minister, grown grey in business, and who had governed the republic of the United Provinces for more than forty years, was absolutely governed by the duke of Marlborough, as that republic feels to this day. He was always cool, and nobody ever observed the least variation in his countenance: he could refuse more gracefully than other people could grant; and those who went away from him the most dissatisfied, as to the substance of their business, were yet personally charmed with him; and, in some degree, comforted by his manner. With all his gentleness and gratefulness, no man living was more conscious of his situation, nor maintained his dignity better.

† Mr. Montague, chancellor of the Exchequer to king William, and created by him earl of Halifax.

life, the revenue possessed by her predecessor, for the support of the civil government: they ordered in a bill, to empower the crown to appoint commissioners to treat for an union between England and Scotland: provision had already been made for the eventual expence of a war during the succeeding summer; and the queen, instead of demanding supplies from the nation, found an opportunity of alleviating a part of their burden. When she came to the house of lords, on the 30th day of March, to give the royal assent to a bill for the establishment of her own revenue, she made a speech from the throne, calculated to gain popularity; in which she told the two houses, that though the funds for the civil list might greatly fall short of what they formerly produced, yet she would give directions that one hundred thousand pounds of her own revenue should be applied to the public service of the year*.

The state of opinions had absolutely changed in England with the state of its affairs. The crown, by the death of William, had fallen almost into the old channel. Instead of a foreigner, and only a relation, a princess, a native of the kingdom, the eldest daughter of a king who had an hereditary title to the crown, which had likewise been assigned to her by an act of the legislature, at the same time a protestant, and much attached to the church, had now possession of the throne. The greatest part of the high-flying Tories, and even some vehement and determined Jacobites, were satisfied, on account of its convenience, with a small deviation from the line of succession. Though they were both, especially the latter, invariably attached to the hereditary descent of the crown, they were willing to

* Journals, March 30.

leave to events that might arise in the progress of time, what could not be done at present, either with certainty, or without danger. Though they had a recent example before them, that the quiet enjoyment of the crown depended by no means on any hereditary right, they hoped that the influence of the reigning sovereign would enable her to bequeath the throne to her own family. Similar sentiments had been adopted by the few persons that formed, at St. Germain's, the idle shew of a court. They knew the professions which the queen had made to her father, almost throughout the reign of king William; and they endeavoured to flatter themselves with hopes, that she only took possession of the government to restore and confirm the crown, especially at her death, to her excluded brother*. These reasons united the Tories and the Jacobites in an unanimous support of the new queen; whilst the Whigs either yielded to the current of the people, always violent for monarchy in every new reign; or they saw no reason for opposing measures which were entirely conformable to their own system of politics,

On the 4th day of May, queen Anne declared war against the French king, not only on account of his seizing on the Spanish monarchy, but "for the great affront and indignity offered to the crown and kingdom, in taking upon him to declare the pretended prince of Wales king thereof." The States-general's declaration of war set forth, "that Louis had, long since, cast his eyes on their provinces, and had twice attacked their republic, (i. e. in the years 1672 and 1688) by most unjust war, in order to make his way to universal monarchy. That so far was he from designing to observe the treaty

* Macpherson's History of England, Vol. II. p. 233.

of Ryfwick, that he thereby solely aimed at lulling the allies asleep, by their laying down their arms; and particularly by ruining the commerce of the Dutch to enervate them; since that treaty was scarcely ratified before he began manifestly to encroach upon their trade, which is the great sinew of their state, by openly refusing the tariff promised by that treaty."

On the breaking out of the war, the great demand for all kinds of naval stores, and particularly of pitch and tar, which were procured from the northern kingdoms, led the tar-company of Sweden to be very haughty in their demands for those articles, which had always been bought on disadvantageous terms to England, they being paid for in ready money; but now the Swedes refused to sell such commodities, unless England would permit them to be brought in Swedish ships, at their own price, and in such quantities only as that company should think fit. This conduct first suggested to parliament the method of allowing bounties for the raising of pitch and tar, hemp, flax, and ship-timber, in our own North-American colonies; particularly in Carolina, (the southernmost parts of which lying near the latitude of Lower Egypt, and the northernmost nearly with Ancona and Bologna in Italy, at which places the best hemp and flax are produced.) For the particular benefit of the royal navy, the preemption or refusal of such naval stores, was, by the same act, allowed to the commissioners of the navy; but if they neglected to purchase such articles within twenty days from the first landing them, then the proprietors were at full liberty to dispose of their merchandize as they should think fit. This act contained a prohibition from cutting or destroying any pitch, pine, or tar-trees, under the growth of twelve inches diameter, at three feet from

from the earth, on forfeiture of five pounds for each offence; and the penalty of ten pounds was thereby incurred, by the wilful setting on fire any woods or forests, in which any trees grew, that had been prepared for the making of pitch or tar, without first giving notice to the owners thereof, or to a magistrate. The beneficial consequences of this salutary law have been now happily experienced for upwards of seventy years.

About this time is fixed for the first cultivation of rice in South-Carolina, which, by opening a new branch of commerce, has brought wealth to the colony, and consequence to the mother country. This valuable grain is said to have been first introduced there by accident, a small quantity of seed-rice being brought in a vessel which arrived from Madagascar. Before these important productions became articles of commerce, Carolina had very inconsiderable merchandize to transmit to England, in exchange for the necessaries which that colony constantly required from the mother country.

Prince George of Denmark, the queen's consort, was placed at the head of the admiralty, in the room of the earl of Pembroke. This new lord high-admiral had a council appointed him, consisting of Sir George Rooke, now created vice-admiral of England, Sir David Mitchell, George Churchill, Esq; now created admiral of the red, in the room of Aylmer, afterwards lord Aylmer, and Richard Hill, Esq; who were to assist him with their advice.

Immediately on the declaration of war, Sir John Munden, rear-admiral of the red, was sent to the coast of Spain with a squadron, consisting of eight ships of the third rate, one fourth rate, and two frigates, to intercept a French squadron that was to sail from Corunna, or the Groyne, with the duke of Albuquerque, appointed viceroy of Mexico; and

and whom they were to escort thither. On the 18th day of May this fleet arrived off Finisterre, and the ships sent out to gain intelligence of the enemy, fell in with, and took a French ship from Martinico. On the night of the 25th the admiral sent in a smack, which brought off a Spanish boat, and a French bark, with several prisoners, who informed him that there were thirteen French ships of war, bound from Rochelle to the Groyne. Hereupon Sir John Munden carried a pressed sail, with a view to get to windward, and thereby intercept them before they could reach the harbour, and issued orders to all his captains to put their ships in immediate readiness for battle. On the 28th, fourteen sail of ships were descried between Cape Prior and Cape Ortegal, close under the shore. The signal was immediately thrown out to chase, but before they could come up with them, they had all got safe into the Groyne. The information received from prisoners led the admiral to conclude, that twelve of the ships which he had chased were French men of war of the line, and that three more fifty gun ships lay in port. Intelligence had likewise been received, that the town was farther defended by two thousand land-forces. It was likewise well known to be a place of strength, and the entrance into the harbour particularly difficult. A council of war was hereupon called, in which it was unanimously resolved, that all attempts at destroying the shipping so protected, would prove ineffectual; and that to continue to lay off the harbour, would be attended with no advantages whatever. It was therefore judged proper to repair into the soundings, there to protect the trade. Of these steps the admiral sent an account to the lord high-admiral, and cruised with his fleet in the latitude of 49 deg. 30 min. thirty leagues to the westward of Scilly, until the 20th day of

of June, when water growing scarce, and the ships having suffered by bad weather, the fleet returned to port. Mr. Secretary Burchet says, "the ships were so scantily manned, that they had not above three parts in five of the number allowed them according to the then establishment*."

The miscarriage of this expedition raised murmurs among the people; therefore, in order to place the whole transaction in a fair light, it was thought necessary to appoint a court-martial for the trial of rear-admiral Sir John Munden, of which Sir Cloudesley Shovel was president, who, with nineteen captains, composed the court. It was held on board her majesty's ship the Queen, at Spithead, on the 13th day of July, 1702. This court having examined the several articles exhibited against rear-admiral Munden, were of opinion, that he had fully cleared himself of the matters in them, and as far as it appeared to the court, had complied with his instructions, and behaved himself with great zeal and diligence. However, notwithstanding this acquittal, it was thought proper to lay him aside, that the public service, at the commencement of a war, might not be injured by lenity shown to inactive commanders.

Great preparations had been made before the death of king William, to fit out a grand fleet, the command of which was then designed for the earl of Pembroke, which should have on board a large body of land-forces, headed by the duke of Ormond, in order to get possession of Cadiz for the archduke Charles. It was farther intended, to keep up a large naval force in the West-Indies, whereby the possessions of Spain, in that quarter of the world, might be effectually annoyed, and the contest for

* Naval History, p. 613.

the Spanish succession brought to a speedy issue, in favour of the maritime interests. Preparations were carried on with great diligence during the winter, to execute this important plan; and such was the secrecy with which its object was concealed, that France, Spain, and even Portugal, who was then in their alliance, were equally alarmed at it. The new reign did not impede this design; only the earl of Pembroke, who had retired from his employments, was succeeded in the command of the fleet by Sir George Rooke. The admiral hoisted the union flag on board the Royal Sovereign, on the 30th day of May, 1702; and two days after, his royal highness the prince of Denmark dined on board the admiral's ship, and reviewed the fleet and army. Under Sir George Rooke, vice-admiral Hopson carried a red flag at the fore-top-mast-head of the Prince George; rear-admiral Fairbourn carried a white flag at the mizen-top-mast-head of the St. George; and rear-admiral Graydon carried a blue flag at the same mast, on board the Triumph. The Dutch fleet, which joined the English, bore five flags, viz. two admirals, two vice-admirals, and a rear-admiral. This combined fleet consisted of thirty English ships of the line, and twenty Dutch; and the small vessels, transports, and tenders which accompanied it, made the whole amount to one hundred and sixty sail. The English land-forces amounted to near ten thousand men, and the Dutch to four thousand. In the latter end of June the fleet sailed from St. Helens, but did not clear the English coast till the latter end of July; and on the 12th day of August anchored within two leagues of Cadiz. Next day the duke of Ormond sent a trumpet to Cadiz, with a letter to the duke de Brancaccio, the governor, requiring him to submit to the house of Austria: Brancaccio answered, "he would

would acquit himself honourably of the trust reposed in him by the king." On the 15th Ormond landed his forces on the Bay of Bulls, under cover of a smart fire from some frigates, and repulsed a body of Spanish cavalry. Then he summoned the governor of fort St. Katharine to surrender, who replied, "he had cannon mounted, and powder and ball ready to receive him." A declaration was published in the Spanish language, intimating, that the allies did not come as enemies to Spain, but only to free them from the yoke of France, and assist them in establishing themselves under the government of the house of Austria. These professions produced very little effect among the Spaniards, who were either cooled in their attachment to that family, or provoked by the depredations committed by the troops, who having mastered fort St. Catharine, and port St. Mary, instead of protecting the inhabitants, plundered them, in defiance of the strict orders issued by the commander in chief: even some general officers were concerned in the pillage; two of whom, Sir —— Bellasis and Sir Charles Hara, were put under arrest, when they returned to England. The former was dismissed the service, but the latter was acquitted, though not in the public opinion.

It being found too difficult to approach Cadiz whilst the Spaniards were in possession of Matagorda fort, opposite to the Puntal, it was ordered to be attacked; but the attempt miscarried, and the troops were re-embarked, with intention to return home.

Captain Hardy, in the *Pembroke*, having been sent to water in Logos Bay, received intelligence from Mr. Methuen, her majesty's envoy at Lisbon, that the galleons from the West-Indies had put into Vigo, under convoy of a French squadron.

K 2

Hardy,

Hardy, on receiving this important information, set sail immediately in quest of Sir George Rooke, who was now out at sea on his return to England. It was not until the 7th day of October that he reached the fleet, when having imparted his intelligence, Rooke called a council of war, in which it was determined to alter the course of the fleet, and sail immediately to the port of Vigo, and attack the enemy. Some small vessels were immediately dispatched to gain intelligence; from whom the admiral was informed, that the French squadron, commanded by Chateau Renault, and the Spanish galleons, were in the harbour; but the wind blowing a storm, drove the fleet to the northward as far as Cape Finisterre, so that it could not make the port of Vigo till the 11th. The passage into the harbour was narrow, secured by batteries, forts, and breast-works on each side; across the entrance of the harbour was thrown a strong boom, consisting of iron chains, top-masts, and cables, moored at each end to a seventy gun ship. Within the boom was moored five ships, of between sixty and seventy guns each, with their broadsides fronting the entrance of the passage. As the first and second rate ships of the combined fleets were too large to enter, the admirals removed their flags into third-rates; and a detachment of fifteen English, and ten Dutch men of war, with all the fire-ships, frigates, and bomb-ketches, were ordered upon the service. In order to facilitate the attack, the duke of Ormond landed two thousand five hundred men on the south side of the river Minho, about six miles from Vigo, and took, by assault, a fort and platform of forty pieces of cannon, at the entrance of the harbour. As soon as the English flag was seen flying from the place, the ships advanced to attack. Vice-admiral Hopson, in the Torbay, crowding all his sail, ran directly

directly against the boom, which was broken by the first shock; and then the Kent, with the rest of the squadron, English and Dutch, entered the harbour, through a prodigious fire from the enemy's ships and batteries. These last however were soon stormed, and taken by the grenadiers who had been landed. The great ships lay against the forts at each side of the harbour, which, in a little time, they silenced; though vice-admiral Hopson narrowly escaped from a fire-ship by which he was boarded. After a very vigorous engagement, the French finding themselves unable to cope with such an adversary, resolved to destroy their ships and galleons, to prevent their falling into the hands of the victors. The loss which the navy of France sustained by this stroke, was nearly equal to that which they suffered ten years before at La Hogue*; and although the Plate-fleet,

* French Ships taken, burnt, and run ashore.

Ships run ashore and burnt.	No. of Guns.
Le Fort	76
L' Enflame	64
Le Prudent	62
Le Solide	56
La Dauphine	46
L' Entreprenant	22
La Choquante	8
Le Favori, a fire-ship.	334
Eight advice-boats.	

Taken by the English, and brought Home.

Ships.	No. of Guns.
Le Prompt	76
Le Firme	72
L' Esperance	70
L' Assurè	66
	284

Taken by the Dutch.

Le Bourbon	68
Le Superbe	70
La Sirene	60
Le Moderne	58
Le Volontaire	48
Le Triton	42
	346

Total, Ships 17. Guns, 940.

Six galleons were taken by the English, and five by the Dutch, who sunk six. The galleons had on board twenty millions of piastres of eight, besides merchandize, which was thought of equal value. Of the silver, fourteen millions were saved, of the goods about five. Four millions of plate were destroyed, with ten millions of merchandize; and about two millions in silver, and five in goods, were brought away by the English and Dutch.

by

by having been arrived twenty-five days in port before the attack was made, had unladen great part of its treasure and merchandize, yet the spoils made by the conquerors were considerable. This great exploit was atchieved with very inconsiderable loss. Very few on board the ships were killed, though the foremost of the fleet suffered greatly in their hulls: of the troops, only two lieutenants, and thirty men were killed, and four superior officers wounded. Immediately after the action, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who had been sent out with a squadron to intercept the galleons, joined Sir George Rooke. The admiral left this officer to complete the destruction of such French ships as could not be brought off, and to bring home the prizes, whilst he himself returned with the grand fleet to England. By this blow, the naval power of France received so deep a wound, that it languished during the whole war.

The vigour with which the war was carried on by sea, gave the most favourable presages of success. Whilst these great efforts were making in Europe, two squadrons were sent to the western hemisphere. One commanded by commodore Leake, sailed the 24th day of June for Newfoundland, whilst a fleet under admiral Benbow had, for some time, been stationed in the West-Indies. Leake executed his instructions so successfully, that by the end of October he had made prize of twenty-nine sail of French ships, and burnt two. He also burnt and destroyed all the fishing-boats and stages, together with a fort belonging to the French at Newfoundland, which were of the greatest importance to them for carrying on the fishery there, and training seamen to the service. He then sailed home, having the homeward-bound ships for England under his convoy, and arrived safe at Portsmouth

mouth on the 10th day of November, in the same year*.

The endeavours of the brave admiral Benbow, however, were not crowned with the like success. He was detached with a Squadron of ten sail by the earl of Pembroke, in the latter end of the year 1701, as has been already related: he arrived at Barbadoes on the 3d of November, and proceeded from thence to Jamaica: he found the apprehensions of an approaching war very general among the islands: he found, in Port-Royal harbour, two men of war; one a fifth, and the other a sixth rate. Here he was informed that the Spanish flota were at Vera Cruz, and that a French fleet, consisting of sixteen men of war, lay at the Havannah, ready to convoy them to Europe. Towards the latter end of January, brigadier-general Selwyn arrived at his government of Jamaica, and brought with him a fourth, fifth, and sixth rate man of war, by whom advice was received, that a French Squadron, of superior force, had arrived at Martinico. It was soon after reported, that the French fleet at Martinico had joined that at the Havannah, which united force being considerably superior to any which the English possessed in those parts, greatly alarmed all the islands. In February news was brought that the French fleet, consisting of forty sail, with three flags, had been seen off Porto-Rico to the south-west. Soon after more certain intelligence was obtained, by means of a sloop sent out for that purpose, that the French commander in chief, lay in the gulph of Lagone, in Hispaniola, with thirty ships of war, having sent ten of his largest ships to Europe. In the middle of May rear-admiral Whetstone arrived from England

* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. III. p. 329.

with

with a reinforcement. Bonbow continued at Jamaica, watching the motions of the French fleet, and sending out detachments to pick up prizes, and to gain intelligence, until the 11th day of July, when he sailed, with six men of war, to join rear-admiral Whetstone, who had been sent out with a like force to intercept M. Du Cass, who he had received intelligence had been sent from Carthageua, with four men of war, to port Louis, at the west-end of Hispaniola, to settle the assiento, and to destroy the trade of the English and Dutch for negroes; in his way thither he fell in with a French man of war, pierced for fifty guns, and mounting thirty, which he forced on shore; and her captain, to prevent her falling into the hands of the English, set her on fire.

The admiral, on the 19th day of August, in the evening, discovered ten sail of ships on the coast of Santa Martha, on the continent of South-America. Standing towards them, he soon found the greatest part were French ships of war; whereupon, making the usual signal for a line of battle, he went away with an easy sail, that his sternmost ships might come up and join him; the French steering westward along the shore, under their top-sails.

Their squadron consisted of four ships, from sixty to seventy guns, with one great Dutch built ship of about thirty or forty; and there was another full of soldiers, the rest small ones, and a sloop. Our frigates astern were a long while coming up, and the night advancing, the admiral steered along side of the French; but though he endeavoured to get near them, yet he intended not to make any attack until the Defiance was got a-breast of the headmost. Before he could reach that station the Falmouth, which was in the rear, attempted the Dutch ship, the Windsor the ship a-breast of her, as did also the

Defiance;

Defiance; and soon after the rear-admiral himself was engaged, having first received the fire of the ship which was opposite to him; but the Defiance and Windsor stood no more than two or three broadsides e'er they tacked to windward out of gun-shot, insomuch that the two sternmost ships of the enemy lay upon the admiral, and gauged him very much; nor did the ships in the rear come up to his assistance with that diligence which might have been expected. From four o'clock until night the fight continued, and though they then left off firing, yet the admiral kept them company; and being of opinion, that it might be better for the service if he had a new line of battle, and led himself on all tacks*, he did so, and the line of battle then stood thus:

	Guns.
The Breda, Vice-ad. Benbow and capt. Fogg,	70
The Defiance, Captain Richard Kirby,	— 64
The Greenwich, Captain Cooper Wade,	— 54
The Ruby, Captain George Walton,	— 48
The Pendennis, Captain Thomas Hudson,	— 48
The Windsor, Captain John Constable,	— 60
The Falmouth, Captain Samuel Vincent,	— 48

On the 20th, at day-break, he found himself very near the enemy, with only the Ruby to assist him; the rest of the ships lying three, four, or five miles astern. They had but little wind, and though the admiral was within gun-shot of the French, yet they were so civil as not to fire. About two in the afternoon the sea-breeze began to blow, and then the enemy got into a line, making what sail they could; and the rest of the ships not coming up, the admiral and the Ruby plied them with chase-guns, and kept them company all night.

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 594.

On the 21st, the admiral was on the quarter of the second ship of the enemy's line, within point-blank shot; but the Ruby being a-head of the same ship, she fired at her, as the other ship did likewise that was a-head of the admiral. The Breda engaged the ship that first attacked the Ruby, and plied her so warmly, that she was forced to tow off. The admiral would have followed her, but the Ruby was in such a condition that he could not leave her. During this engagement, the rear ship of the enemy was a-breast of the *Defiance* and *Windsor*, but neither of those ships fired a single shot. On the 22d, at day-break, the *Greenwich* was five leagues a-stern, though the signal for battle was never taken down: about three in the afternoon the wind, which was before easterly, changed to the south-west, which gave the enemy the weather-gage*.

On the 23d, the enemy was six leagues a-head, and the great Dutch ship separated from them. At ten the enemy tacked, with the wind at east-north-east; the vice-admiral fetched within point-blank shot of two of them, and each gave the other his broadside. The Ruby being disabled, the admiral sent her to Jamaica to refit. The rest of the squadron now came up, and the enemy being but two miles off, the brave admiral was yet in hopes of doing some effectual service, and therefore continued to steer after them; but his ships, except the *Falmouth*, were soon a-stern again; at twelve the French began to separate†.

* See Burchet's Naval History, and the account of the proceedings of vice-admiral Benbow, from whence indeed most of the other accounts are transcribed.

† In this all the accounts we have agree; and nothing can be plainer than that, if these captains had now returned to their duty, most of Du Casse's squadron must have been taken.—*Dr. Campbell.*

On the 24th, about two in the morning, they came up within call of the sternmost, there being then very little wind. The admiral fired a broadside, which the French ship returned. At three o'clock the admiral's right leg was broken by a chain-shot. The skirmish continued until day appeared, when a French ship, of about seventy guns, was seen, with her main-yard down and shot to pieces, her fore-top-sail-yard shot away, her mizen-mast shot by the board, all her rigging gone, and her sides very much torn. The admiral soon after discovered the enemy standing towards him with a strong gale of wind. The Windsor, Pendennis, and Greenwich, stood a-head of the enemy, and bore to leeward of the disabled ship, firing their broadsides as they passed her, and stood to the southward: the Defiance followed them, fired part of her broadside, when the disabled ship returning about twenty guns, the Defiance put her helm a-weather, and ran away right before the wind, lowered both her top-sails, and ran to the leeward of the Falmouth, without any regard to the signal of battle*.

The enemy seeing these three ships stand to the southward, expected they would have tacked and stood towards them, and therefore they brought too, with their heads to the northward. But when they saw those ships did not tack, they immediately bore down upon the flag-ship, and running between him and their disabled ship, poured in all their shot, by which they brought down his main-top-sail-yard, and shattered his rigging very much, none of the

* It was upon full evidence of this fact, that captain Kirby was condemned for cowardice, though, on other occasions, he had behaved well. It was generally supposed, that he was the author of this scheme; at least he was charged with being so, by Wade and Constable.—*Dr. Campbell.*

other ships being near him, or taking the least notice of his signals, though captain Fogg ordered two guns to be fired at the ships a-head, in order to remind them of their duty. The French, seeing things in this confusion, brought too, and lay by their own disabled ship, re-manned her, and took her in tow. When the Breda's rigging was repaired, the admiral, who had caused himself to be brought upon deck in his cradle, ordered his captain to pursue the enemy, then about three miles to leeward, his line of battle signal still displayed; and orders were sent to the several captains for them to keep the line, and behave like men. Upon this captain Kirby came on board the admiral, and told him, "that he had better desist; that the French were very strong; and that, from what was past, he might guess he could make nothing of it*." In this advice all the other captains concurred, although the ships were in as good condition as could be expected, and not above eight men killed, except in the vice-admiral's own ship, nor was there any want of ammunition; whereas the enemy had now no more than four ships, from sixty to seventy guns, and one of them disabled and in tow. The vice-admiral thought proper upon this, to return to Jamaica, where he arrived with his squadron very weak with a fever, brought on by the loss of his leg, and the agitation of his mind. Here he was soon after joined by rear-admiral Whetstone, with the ships under his command.

* This was deposed at the trial, and was not denied by Kirby. After this, the officers of his own ship pressed the admiral to retire to Jamaica, from an apprehension, that these captains being become desperate, might go over to the enemy, to which the admiral unwillingly consented. Mr. Secretary Burchet blames the vice-admiral for not putting all the four captains under an arrest, and giving the first lieutenants the command of their respective ships; had that spirited conduct been pursued, he thinks the French ships might, even then, have been either taken or destroyed.

The

The French ships that were with M. Du Casse, had sailed from Corunna, having on board the duke of Albuquerque, viceroy of Mexico, and a considerable number of soldiers. These were some of those ships which eluded Sir John Munden's fleet, and got into port. The French accounts, indeed, represent the whole affair to their own advantage, as is their constant practice upon all occasions; but M. Du Casse, who was a brave man, and certainly the best judge of the transaction, appears to have been of another opinion, by the following short letter, which he wrote immediately after his arrival at Carthagea; the original of which is preserved in admiral Benbow's family.

S I R,

I Had little hopes on Monday last, but to have supped in your cabin: but it pleased God to order it otherwise; I am thankful for it. As for those cowardly captains who deserted you, hang them up; for, by —, they deserve it.

Yours,

D U C A S S E.

Vice-admiral Benbow soon after issued a commission to rear-admiral Whetstone, and to several captains, to hold a court-martial for the trial of several offenders. On the 6th of October 1702, the court sat at Port-Royal, when captain Kirby, of the *Defiance*, was brought upon his trial. He was accused of cowardice, breach of orders, and neglect of duty; which crimes were proved upon oath, by the admiral himself, ten commission, and eleven warrant-officers; by whose evidence it appeared, that the admiral boarded Du Casse in person three times, and received a large wound in his face, and
another

another in his arm, before his leg was shot off: that Kirby, after two or three broadsides, kept always out of gun-shot, and by his behaviour created such a fear of his desertion, as greatly discouraged the English in the engagement: that he kept two or three miles a-stern all the second day, though repeatedly commanded to keep his station: that the third day he did not fire a gun, though he saw the admiral in the utmost peril, being engaged with three French ships at once, and unsupported. It was deposed, that Kirby threatened to kill his boatswain for repeating the admiral's command to fire. No solid defence was set up to invalidate these heavy charges, therefore the court adjudged him to be shot. The same day captain Constable, of the Windsor, was tried; his own officers vindicated him from cowardice, but the rest of the charge being clearly proved, he was sentenced to be cashiered, and to be imprisoned during her majesty's pleasure. The next day captain Wade was tried, and the charge being fully proved by sixteen commission and warrant-officers on board his own ship; as also that he was drunk during the whole time of the engagement, he, making little or no defence, had the same sentence with Kirby. As for captain Hudson, who commanded the Pendennis, he died a few days before his trial should have come on, and thereby escaped the fate of Kirby and Wade.

Upon the 12th came on the trials of captain Vincent, commander of the Falmouth, and captain Fogg, who was captain of the admiral's own ship the Breda, for signing, at the persuasion of captain Kirby, a paper, containing an obligation on themselves not to fight the French. The fact was clear, and the captains themselves did not dispute it. All they offered in extenuation of their offence was, that they were apprehensive Kirby would have deserted

ferted to the enemy, and they took this step to prevent it. But this tale would have hardly passed on the court-martial, if the admiral himself had not given some weight to their excuses, by declaring, that, however they might be overseen in subscribing that paper, yet they certainly behaved themselves very gallantly in the fight. For the sake of discipline, the court, however, thought fit to suspend them, until his royal highness's pleasure should be known. The two captains, who had received sentence of death, were sent to England in the Bristol man of war, to have the sentence confirmed by her majesty. The first port they arrived at was Plymouth, where a warrant already lay for their immediate execution. They were therefore shot on board the ship, without being permitted to go ashore.

“Never two Englishmen,” says the author of the British Empire in America, “ever brought such dishonour on their country as Kirby and Wade.” Dr. Campbell accounts for their conduct, by observing, that the admiral was an honest, rough seaman, and fancied that his command was bestowed upon him for no other reason, than that he should serve his country : this induced him to treat captain Kirby, and the rest of the gentlemen, a little roughly at Jamaica, when he found them not quite so ready to obey his orders, as he thought was their duty ; and this it was that engaged them in the base and wicked design of putting it out of his power to engage the French, in hopes that, as so many were concerned in it, they might be able to justify themselves, and throw the blame upon the admiral, thereby hoping to be rid of him. But his rugged honesty baffled them. The disposition of this intrepid son of Neptune, may be gathered from the answer which he made one of his lieutenants, who expressed

expressed his sorrow for the loss of the admiral's leg. "I am sorry for it too," says the gallant Benbow; "but I had rather have lost them both, than have seen this dishonour brought upon the English nation. But, do you hear? if another shot should take me off, behave like brave men, and fight it out."

The vice-admiral took this miscarriage so much to heart, that he became melancholy, and his grief cooperating with the fever occasioned by his wounds, put a period to his life*.

Having

* Benbow was descended from a good family in Shropshire. Both his uncle Thomas Benbow, Esq; and his father John Benbow, Esq; possessed moderate estates in that county. On the rupture between Charles I. and his parliament, these two brothers were among the first and forwardest to venture their lives and fortunes in the royal cause; they were both colonels in the king's army. The two Benbows greatly impaired their fortunes by their adherence to their prince; notwithstanding which they remained inflexible; and when Charles II. attempted to regain the crown, they were very active in his cause. At the memorable battle of Worcester, which was fought on the 3d day of September 1653, they were both taken prisoners. Colonel Thomas Benbow was brought to a trial, together with the earl of Derby, and Sir Timothy Fetherstonhaugh: they were all found guilty of the charge brought against them, namely, of being in the king's service: the earl was executed at Bolton, in Lancashire; Sir Timothy at Chester; and colonel Benbow was shot on the 19th day of October, at Shrewsbury.—Such are the fatal consequences of civil contentions, that a man's steady adherence to what he thinks to be right, is constituted a crime, and is even considered as criminal in the highest degree; so that in such fatal quarrels a virtuous man is more exposed to punishment, than the most abandoned pests of society.

Our admiral's father was so fortunate as to effect his escape from prison, and concealed himself until the restoration;

Having now closed the naval operations during the first year of this war, that our readers may have a general idea of all the military operations of this important period, we shall say something of the operations of the allied army on the continent.

At

ration; his fortune was now entirely gone, and, in advanced years, he was destitute of a subsistence. In this distress he gladly accepted of an inconsiderable post belonging to the ordnance, in the Tower, which only furnished a scanty pittance for himself and his family. Here he continued until the first Dutch war in the reign of Charles the Second broke out; when the king, going to inspect his arsenal in the Tower, cast his eyes on his faithful adherent Benbow, whose head had been silvered over for twenty years. "Colonel Benbow," said the king, "what do you here?" "I have," replied the colonel, "a place of fourscore pounds a year, in which I serve your majesty as cheerfully as if it brought me in four thousand." "Alas," said Charles, "is that all that could be found for an old friend at Worcester?" The king hereupon ordered him to be with him the next morning, declaring, that he would provide for him and his family*. The joy at so unexpected a piece of good fortune, which was heightened to him because it flowed from the benignity of his sovereign, was too intense for the exhausted powers of a feeble old man, so that throwing himself upon a bench hard by, he there breathed out his last, before the king was well out of the Tower.

As Charles did not see his "old Worcester friend" the next day as he had appointed, it is most probable that he thought no more of the engagements he had made to him. So that his family, from that hour, became destitute, and added one to the many instances of the king's unfeeling neglect of his best friends.

John Benbow, the son of this unfortunate royalist, was bred to the sea, and some writers assert, that his station was, at first, no better than a waterman's boy; nor is the probability of this fact at all lessened, by his being owner

* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 261.

At the opening of the campaign the allies declared the earl of Marlborough generalissimo of all their forces. This general, whom we shall soon find become the most fatal enemy to France that England

and commander of a ship, called the Benbow frigate, in some part of Charles the Second's reign. In this vessel he traded up the Mediterranean, in which employment he recommended himself to the esteem of the merchants, for his bravery, skill, and activity. As a commander, he had the character of treating his seamen kindly, but at the same time keeping up a rigid discipline. He might probably have spent his whole life in this undistinguished situation, without having his talents exerted in rendering essential service to his country, but for an event which very strongly marked the singularity of the man, as well as his intrepidity; on which account it caused his future advancement. This very remarkable story is related by Dr. Campbell, who had it from Paul Calton, Esq; a gentleman of Berkshire, who married one of the daughters and coheiresses of our admiral, and who became possessed of many of his papers after his decease.

In the year 1686, captain Benbow, in his own vessel the Benbow Frigate, was attacked, in his passage to Cadiz, by a Saltee rover, against whom he defended himself, though very unequal in the number of men, with the utmost bravery; till at last the Moors boarded him, but were quickly beat out of the ship again, with the loss of thirteen men, whose heads captain Benbow ordered to be cut off, and thrown into a tub of pork-pickle. When he arrived at Cadiz he went ashore, and ordered a negro servant to follow him, with the Moors heads in a sack. He had scarce landed, before the officers of the revenue enquired of his servant what he had in his sack? The captain answered, salt-provisions for his own use. That may be, answered the officers, but we must insist upon seeing them. Captain Benbow alledged, that he was no stranger there; that he did not use to run goods, and pretended to take it ill that he was suspected. The officers told him, that the magistrates were sitting not far off, and that if they were satisfied with his word, his servant might carry the

land had produced since the conquests at Poitiers, Cressy, and Agincourt, had been initiated in the art of war under the famous marshal Turenne, in whose army he served as a volunteer, where he went by

the provision where he pleased ; but that, otherwise, it was not in their power to grant any such dispensation. The captain consented to the proposal, and the parties proceeded to the Custom-House ; Mr. Benbow in the front, his man in the centre, and the officers in the rear. The magistrates, when he came before them, treated captain Benbow with great civility ; told him, they were sorry to make a point of such a trifle, but that since he had refused to shew the contents of his sack to their officers, the nature of their employments obliged them to demand a sight of them ; and that, as they doubted not they were salt provisions, the shewing them could not be an objectionable matter. I told you, says the captain sternly, they were salt provisions for my own use ; Cæsar, throw them down upon the table ; and, gentlemen, if you like them, they are at your service. The Spaniards were exceedingly struck at the sight of the Moor's heads, and no less astonished at the account of the captain's adventure, who, with so small a force, had been able to defeat such a number of these corsairs. They sent an account of the whole matter to the court of Madrid, and Charles II. then king of Spain, was so much pleased with it, that he sent for the English captain to court, where he was received with great marks of respect, and not only dismissed with a handsome present, but his Catholic majesty was also pleased to write a letter in his behalf to king James, who, upon the captain's return, gave him a ship, which was his introduction to the royal navy.

After the revolution, he distinguished himself by several successful cruizes in the Channel ; where he was employed at the request of the merchants, and not only did his duty by protecting the trade, and annoying the enemy, but was also remarkably careful in examining the French ports, gaining intelligence, and forming schemes for disturbing the French commerce, and securing our own. For this reason, he was commonly made choice of to command the

by the name of the *handsome Englishman*; but Turrenne then predicted his future greatness. "He was not," says Voltaire, "as those generals, who receive from the ministry a plan of the campaign in writing, and

squadrons employed in bombarding the French ports, of which we have already given an account; and in all which expeditions he shewed no less courage than conduct, being always present in his boat, as well to encourage, as to instruct, the seamen and engineers.

The diligence and activity of captain Benbow, could not fail of recommending him to the favour of so wise and brave a prince as king William; to whose personal kindness, founded on a just sense of Mr. Benbow's merit, he owed his being so early promoted to a flag; after which, he was generally employed as the most experienced seaman in the navy, to watch the motions of the French at Dunkirk, and to prevent, as far as it was possible, the depredations of Dubart; in which, he shewed such diligence, and did so great service, by preserving our merchant-ships, that his conduct remained unimpeached, while almost every other officer of rank in the navy fell under the lash of censure, either on the score of negligence, timidity, or disaffection.

Whilst party-heats divided the nation, Benbow escaped the contagion; he disclaimed all party distinctions, and so far as his influence extended, made professional merit alone the road to preferment in the navy. The sailors looked up to rear-admiral Benbow as their patron, who was ever ready to interpose in their favour, and obtain redress of their grievances, when they suffered under any kind of oppression or ill treatment. His moderation in political matters caused him to live on good terms with the admirals of different parties.

In the year 1697, he protected the West-Indian and Virginia fleets from the attacks of French privateers; for which essential service he received the thanks of the merchants. When the peace of Ryfwick took place, rear-admiral Benbow was sent, with a small squadron, into the West-Indies. At the time when the general peace of Europe was restored by that treaty, king William foresaw the shortness

and who, after having executed their orders at the head of an army, return to solicit the honour of being continued in their command. He, at that time, governed the queen of England, by his being

shortness of its duration; he therefore determined to send an experienced and active officer into that quarter of the world, with private instructions to acquaint himself, as perfectly as possible, with the condition of the Spanish settlements there, whilst he maintained a friendly intercourse with the respective governors, and rendered them every assistance which might lay in his power. He continued in this employment two years, and executed every thing that could be expected from him, with the small force which he carried out. The British West-India islands were relieved, and the interests of the merchants and planters promoted; but his circumscribed strength procured him no civilities from the Spanish governors. Parliament arraigned the conduct of the ministry, for sending out so small a squadron, and so late in the season, it being the month of November before he left England; at the same time they gave great praise to the admiral's conduct whilst on that station.

By the time that our admiral returned to Europe, the designs of Louis XIV. to procure the crown of Spain for one of his grandsons, became more apparent, and king William had already taken preparatory steps to defeat that scheme. As he foresaw another general war ready to break out in Europe, he made a promotion of naval officers, by which Mr. Benbow became vice-admiral of the blue. In order to disappoint the French in their views upon the Spanish succession, it was thought necessary to send out immediately a strong squadron to the West-Indies. The choice of an officer to command, in this important service, greatly embarrassed the ministry. Our admiral indeed was named as soon as the design was formed, but the king thought it was exacting too much from his gallant admiral, to send him back to a station, where he must continue a considerable time, and was likely to encounter nothing but difficulties, and hard service; he therefore rejected the proposal, and had them name some other officer. Others were

ing so necessary a person, and by the influence which his wife had over her majesty. He intirely led the parliament by his own power and interest, joined to that of Godolphin, the lord-treasurer, whose son

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were accordingly pitched upon, but none could be found to relish the appointment; each urged some reason or other for declining it. Naval commands were, at that time, too much entrusted to men as little skilled in the duties of their profession, as warmed with a zeal for the service, both of which are necessary to constitute an useful officer. Court-favour brought forward a set of well-bred gentlemen, who had no relish for the hardy toils, and the familiar acquaintance with danger, which ought to be inseparable from the profession. The king hereupon said, jocularly, "Well, I find we must spare our beaus, and send honest Benbow." Accordingly, his majesty sent for him, and asked him if he was willing to go again to the West-Indies? at the same time leaving it to his own choice, to accept or refuse the offer. The blunt tar replied, "that he did not understand such compliments; that he knew of no right he had to choose his station; and that if his majesty thought fit to send him to the East-Indies, or to the West, or even to the Antipodes, he would cheerfully and faithfully execute his orders, as was his duty to do." Hereupon vice-admiral Benbow received the unenvied command of the West-India squadron. The instructions given our admiral were, to prevail on the Spanish governors, if possible, to renounce Philip for their king; and if that could not be effected, then to endeavour to seize the galleons. We have already related every material circumstance respecting this enterprize. Benbow's rough manners were not relished by the captains who served under him whilst they continued at Jamaica, therefore they determined to sacrifice the interests of their country, to gratify a private pique against their commander; for which purpose they entered into a base confederacy, that if they should happen to fall in with any part of the French fleet, not to fight, but to leave their admiral to bear the brunt of the action as well as he could. How exactly they adhered to this resolution, when they fell in with Du Cassé's squadron,

was married to his daughter. Thus, master of the court, the parliament, and the exchequer, more a king than William had been, as great a politician, and a much greater general, he did more than the allies

squadron, has been seen, as well as the punishment that was inflicted on the delinquents for this act of treachery. Benbow lived near a month after the court-martial had sat on his captains. He was well aware of his danger, and formed no expectations of a recovery. In all the extremity of pain which he endured, he maintained the character of an English admiral to the last, never abating of that firm and undaunted spirit which he displayed throughout the engagement. To the last, he issued out orders for the protection of trade; and in the letters which he wrote home to his lady, he discovered much greater anxiety for the interest of the nation, than for his private fortune, or the concerns of his family. Queen Anne entertained a just regard for the memory of this gallant man, and spoke of his loss with great concern. To prevent all applications for mercy in behalf of the two captains that were on their passage from Jamaica to England, to suffer the sentence inflicted on them by a court-martial, she signed a dead warrant for each of the western ports, whither they were forwarded, as it was uncertain at which of those ports the ship might touch.

The admiral's sister presented the corporation of Shrewsbury with his picture, during his life-time, who caused it to be hung up in their town-hall, where it still remains, as a testimony of the estimation in which he was held by his countrymen.

Admiral Benbow had many children; of his sons, one, who was named after his father, John, met with very singular adventures; the rest died without issue, and nothing is known concerning them. This John Benbow the younger was bred to the sea, and went to the East-Indies in quality of fourth mate, on board the *Degrave*, captain William Young; and in her he passed the Downs, on the 19th day of February, 1701, when his father, the admiral, lay there with his squadron, ready to proceed to the West Indies, on his last fatal voyage. The *Degrave* arrived at Bengal, where her captain and first mate died.

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allies could expect. He had, to a degree above all the generals of his time, that calm courage in the midst of tumult, that serenity of soul in danger, which the English call *a cool head*. And it was perhaps

The captain left a son, who was second mate, who thereupon took the command, and Mr. Benbow became second mate on the homeward passage. In sailing down the Ganges, on their return, the ship ran aground, but was got off without any apparent damage; but they had not been long at sea before she became so leaky, that two chain-pumps were constantly kept going: this laborious exertion they were obliged to continue for two months; when they were so fortunate as to reach a small island, on which the Dutch had formed a settlement. Here they were hospitably received, and furnished with every accommodation that the place could afford: but they were not able to come at their leak. They continued here a month, and took on board fifty Lascars, or Moorish seamen; and having one hundred and seventy hands on board, they rashly adventured out to sea, with their ship so ill conditioned. Their object was to reach the Cape of Good-Hope, but they had been at sea only a few days, when the leak gained so much upon them, that notwithstanding they pumped day and night, yet it was with difficulty the ship was kept afloat, and they were six hundred leagues from the Cape. Every one was now impatient to make for the nearest land, and all other considerations were absorbed in the desire of escaping death. They therefore bent their course towards Madagascar: they reached the southern part of that island, and brought the ship within a quarter of a mile of the coast; but although they cut down her masts and rigging, threw the guns, and even the lading overboard, they could not bring her nearer shore. Having already lost their long-boat and pinnace, they constructed a raft, with which, with great difficulty, every person on board got safely to land. But though they saved their lives, they lost their liberties; the king of that part of the island immediately made them prisoners, and, in the same wretched condition, they found more of their countrymen; among whom were two captains, named Drummond and Stewart,

perhaps this quality, the greatest gift of nature for command, which formerly gave the English so many advantages over the French *."

Prince Eugene, who commanded the Imperialists, on his part, no sooner finished one campaign than he went directly for Vienna, to make preparations for another; and it cannot but appear evident, how much better an army must subsist, when the general himself acts as the minister. These two great men, who sometimes jointly commanded, and sometimes separately, lived always in a good understanding: they had frequent conferences at the

* Age of Louis XIV. chap. 17.

Stewart, the former of whom commanded a ship belonging to the Scotch Darien Company. It was not long before some of these unhappy people, amounting to about fifty or sixty, among whom were the officers, formed a plan for escaping out of this district of the island, and secreting themselves on some spot near the coast, where they might chance to descry some European ship. In effecting this bold design, the whole company were miserably butchered by the natives, except Mr. Benbow, and the captains Drummond and Stuart, with four or five of their crew; and one Robert Drury, a boy, whose life the Indians spared, though they took him prisoner. Mr. Benbow continued several years, after this event, among a different tribe of Indians, whose manners were less savage: here he conformed to their mode of living, and, like them, threw off entirely the superfluous incumbrance of cloaths. At length he escaped on board a Dutch ship, the captain of which having been well acquainted with his father, shewed him every mark of respect, and at length restored him in safety to his native country. Robert Drury, after being fifteen years a slave, was redeemed by one captain William Mackett, and brought to England in 1716. He resided in London many years, and there published an account of his adventures. The singularity of the events which Mr. John Benbow, junior, experienced, has led us to make so long

the Hague with the grand pensionary Heinsius, the minister who governed Holland. These three statesmen so concerted measures, that they put the springs of half Europe in motion, against the house of Bourbon. They always kept the plan of the operations of the campaign a profound secret. They themselves concerted their designs, and never communicated them even to those whose assistance was necessary, till on the point of execution. Chamillard, the French minister, on the contrary, being no politician, no warrior, nor even well versed in the public revenues, was greatly unequal to the part of a prime minister. His own incapacity to concert measures, made him therefore have recourse to the assistance of many inferior officers; by which means his measures were often revealed, even before he had fully determined upon them.

Marlborough began his command with advancing, from obscurity, subaltern officers, in whom he discerned merit, without confining himself to the order of the military roll. He knew, that when promotion is only the consequence of seniority, emulation is extinguished; and that the oldest is far

a digression. It is probable, that this young man's long absence from home, together with the ship which he was on board, having never been heard of for a series of years, made it firmly believed that he had perished at sea: so that the fortune which the admiral died possessed of, descended to his two surviving daughters, who thereby became coheiressees; the eldest of whom married Paul Calton, Esq; of Milton, near Abington, Bucks, who was living some few years ago. Their brother, Mr. John Benbow, lived many years after his return to England, and wrote a description of the southern part of Madagascar, which was handed about in manuscript among his acquaintance, and by that means was lost; the family having, in vain, attempted to recover so curious a performance.

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from being the best officer. He formed men at once. When he came into the field, he gained ground considerably on the French, even without fighting. The first month of the campaign, count d'Atlone, the Dutch general, disputed the command; but, on the second, was obliged to yield to him in every respect. The French monarch had sent against him his grandson the duke of Burgundy, a wise and just prince, born to make men happy. The marshal de Boufflers, a brave and indefatigable general, commanded under this young prince. But the duke, after having, in vain, attempted to take several places, and having been forced to retreat by the excellent marches of the English general, returned to Verhilles in the middle of the campaign. Boufflers now remained alone a spectator of the success of Marlborough, who took Venlo, Ruremonde, and Liege, always advancing, and never, for a moment, quitting his superiority.

Marlborough, at his return to London after this campaign, received all the honours that could be conferred, either by a monarchy or republic; he was treated a duke by the queen, and, which was still more grateful, received the thanks of both houses of parliament, who sent a deputation of their number to wait upon him, at his house, for that purpose.

The continuance of the parliament, which sat at the time of the king's death, was limited to six months after that event. The queen, however, dissolved it before that time, and issued writs for calling a new one. This new parliament was chiefly composed of Tory members: it met on the 20th day of October 1702, and chose Mr. Harley for their speaker. In the course of this session three million five hundred and seventeen thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven pounds even shillings and two-

pence, were voted for the service of the ensuing year, which, at that time, was considered as an immense sum, though, in after-times, much larger have been granted on the bare probability of a war. It was resolved, that forty thousand seamen should be employed, and the like number of land-forces.

In the month of March the queen made a naval promotion; by which the marquis of Carmarthen was advanced, from being vice-admiral of the white to be vice-admiral of the red; John Graydon, Esq; was made vice-admiral of the white; John Leake, Esq; vice-admiral of the blue; George Byng, Esq; rear-admiral of the red; Thomas Dilkes, Esq; rear-admiral of the white; and Bazil Beaumont, Esq; rear-admiral of the blue.

The house of peers voted their thanks to the duke of Ormond, for his services at Vigo; and, at the same time, drew up an address to the queen, desiring she would order the duke of Ormond and Sir George Rooke, to lay before them an account of their proceedings: a request with which her majesty complied. Both those officers were thanked by the house of commons; and the queen knighted vice-admiral Hopson, and bestowed on him a considerable pension. The duke of Ormond at his return from the expedition, had complained openly of Rooke's conduct, and seemed determined to subject him to a public accusation; but that officer was such a favourite among the commons, that the court was afraid to disoblige them by an impeachment, and took great pains to mitigate the duke's resentment. Ormond was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and Rooke was admitted into the privy-council. A motion however being made in the house of lords, that the admiral's instructions and journals, relating to the 1st expedition, might be examined; a committee was appointed for that purpose,

pose, and prepared an unfavourable report; but it was rejected by a majority of the house; and they voted, that Sir George Rooke had done his duty, pursuant to the councils of war, like a brave officer, to the honour of the British nation *. The admiral, in his defence, imputed the miscarriage of the expedition against Cadiz to the nature of his instructions, which, it is certain, were not a little embarrassing, occasioned by the situation in which England stood with Spain. The Spaniards had a king called to the succession by the will of their late sovereign, and who was generally acknowledged; whereas the allies had not, at that time, set up any other king, but only invited the Spaniards, in general terms, to support the interests of the house of Austria. If therefore the English had employed their force vigorously against Cadiz, they would have estranged from their interest those whose favour they wanted to conciliate. The declaration which the duke of Ormond published when he arrived at Spain, breathed nothing but peace and protection: on the other hand, the instructions under which the commanders were to act, empowered them to use hostilities: so that whatever line of conduct was adopted, whether mildness or severity, the commanders were alike exposed to censure. The admiral farther observed, that by endeavouring to avoid giving grounds for either of the charges, he had drawn upon himself both. At first he had inclined to gentle means, the construction given to which was, that he intended only to amuse, and make a show; but finding such a course ineffectual, and that after the outrages committed at port St. Maries, by the English troops, no voluntary acquiescence could be expected from the Spaniards, he proposed to bom-

* Smollett's History of England, Vol. IX. p. 293.

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bard the place. This proceeding was violently opposed by the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, who was the officer deputed by the emperor, because it would alienate the people entirely from the interest of the house of Austria. The admiral went on to observe, that as fair means would do nothing, and force was not to be tried, the only measure left was to return home.

Nothing memorable happened at sea during the summer of the year 1703. Sir George Rooke cruised in the channel in order to alarm the coast of France, and protect the trade of England. The grand fleet was commanded by Sir Cloudesley Shovel: it consisted of twenty-seven ships of the line, and, under him, were rear-admiral Byng, and Sir Stafford Fairborne: this force was afterwards augmented by eight ships, which were commanded by vice-admiral Leake. It was not until the middle of June, that the Dutch fleet joined him, which amounted to no more than twelve ships, carrying three flags.

On the 1st day of July the combined fleet sailed from St. Helens, and proceeded to the Mediterranean, whither they escorted the Turkey fleet, and accompanied it to the coast of Italy. The fleet then put into Leghorn to procure water. On the 22d day of September the admiral appeared before Altea, on the coast of the province of Valentia, where brigadier Seymour landed, and encamped with two thousand five hundred marines. The admiral published a short manifesto, signifying, that he was not come to disturb, but to protect the good subjects of Spain, who should swear allegiance to their lawful monarch the archduke Charles, and endeavour to shake off the yoke of France: but this declaration produced little or no effect. One design of this armament was to assist the Cevennois, inhabitants

tants of the province of Languedoc, who being protestants, had been persecuted into a revolt, and implored the assistance of the maritime powers. The admiral detached two of his ships, the Tartar and the Pembroke, into the gulph of Narbonne, with some refugees and French pilots, who had concerted signals with the Cevennois; but the marshal de Montreville, who commanded the French troops employed to reduce them, had so effectually occupied the passes that led to their mountainous recesses from the sea-coast, that no assistance could be rendered them; and the English captains having repeated their signals to no purpose, re-joined their admiral. Whilst the admiral lay at Leghorn, he detached captain Swanton to Tunis and Tripoli, and sent rear-admiral Byng to Algiers, to renew the peace with those pyratrical States, and then returned to England. On the 16th day of November, the fleet being off the Isle of Wight, captain Norris, (afterwards Sir John Norris) in the Orford, a ship of the third rate, together with the Warspight of seventy guns, and the Litchfield of fifty, being a head of the fleet, gave chase to a French ship of war, and beginning to engage about eight o'clock at night, the firing continued till two in the morning, when the Frenchman struck. She was homeward bound from Newfoundland, was larger than an English sixty gun ship, but mounted only fifty guns, and had on board three hundred and seventy men; she was called the Hazardous, and was commanded by M. de la Rue*.

This bootless expedition excited great discontents in the nation. The merchants complained that they were ill provided with convoy. The ships of war were victualled with damaged provisions,

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 656.

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and charges of mismanagement lay in every branch of the marine department. For these neglects and male-practices the nation loudly censured those who acted as council to the lord high-admiral.

While the grand fleet rode in the Mediterranean, the admiralty-council received intelligence, that a considerable fleet of French merchant-ships, with their convoy, were in Cancalle Bay, near St. Maloes; orders were therefore sent to rear-admiral Dilkes, who was then at Spit-head with a small squadron, to sail immediately in pursuit of them, which he did on the 22d of July. On the 24th he ordered the captain of the *Nonfuch*, to stretch a-head of the squadron, and stand as near Alderney as possible, and send his boat ashore to gain intelligence. On the 25th he stood towards the *Casquets* for the same purpose, and at six in the evening anchored off the south-west part of Jersey; from whence he sent captain Chamberlain, commander of the *Spy* brigantine, to the governor, in order to procure the best intelligence. The governor sent to him captain James Lamprier, and captain Thomas Pipon, who well understood that coast, by whom being informed of a fleet about forty sail, plying to the windward, on the 15th, to get to Granville, the rear-admiral, upon consultation, at a council of war, with the pilots, resolved to sail immediately, though the tide fell cross in the night, that getting clear of the westernmost rocks of the *Minques*, he might attack the enemy, by break of day, the next morning; accordingly, perceiving the enemy at anchor about a league to the westward of Granville, at break of day they, upon his approach, got under sail, and stood in for the shore.

The rear-admiral followed them as far as the pilot would venture, and found them to consist of forty-

forty-three merchant-ships, and three men of war. Being come within four feet water more than the ship drew, he manned all the boats of his fleet. By noon he took fifteen sail, burnt six, and sunk three; the rest stood so far into a bay, between Avranche and the mount St. Michael, that the pilots thought it rash to attack them; whereupon, on the 27th in the morning, it was resolved, at a council of war, to go into the bay with the Hector, Mermaid, a fire-ship, the Spy brigantine, a ship of six guns, taken the day before from the enemy, a ketch fitted as a fire-ship, and all the boats of the squadron, which was performed between ten and eleven in the morning, the rear-admiral being present, accompanied by captain Fairfax, captain Legg, and captain Mighells; as also by the captains Lamprier and Pipon.

There were three ships equipped for war; one of eighteen guns, which the enemy burnt; the second of fourteen guns, which Mr. Paul, first lieutenant of the Kent, set on fire, who in this service was shot through the lower jaw, and had four men killed; and a third of eight guns, which was brought off. Seventeen more of the merchant-ships were burnt and destroyed, so that, of the whole fleet, only four escaped, by getting under the command of Granyville fort. The enemy, during this attack, sent several large shallops from Granyville, but with no success, the rear-admiral having manned a brigantine with eighty men, and another vessel, of six guns, with forty, who covered all the boats. This last vessel unfortunately run aground, which obliged the rear-admiral to burn her. During the time of this action, about five thousand of the enemy appeared on shore, but they remained quiet spectators of the devastation committed on the French ships, for they made no advances to attack the

English*. For this signal service the queen ordered gold medals to be struck, and presented to the rear-admiral, and all his officers.

In the West-Indies no advantages were gained during the year 1703. Sir George Rooke, in the preceding year, had detached, from the Mediterranean, captain Hovenden Walker, with six third-rate men of war and transports, having on board four regiments of soldiers, for the Leeward-Islands. Being joined at Antigua by some troops under colonel Coddington, they made a descent upon the Island of Guadaloupe, where they razed the fort, burnt the town, ravaged the country, and reembarked with precipitation, in consequence of a report, that the French had landed nine hundred men on the back of the island. When the news of vice-admiral Benbow's death reached England, vice-admiral Graydon was sent out with three ships of the line, to take the command of the fleet in that station; a fifty and a sixty gun ship were ordered to accompany the admiral one hundred and fifty leagues beyond Cape Clear; whilst they were pursuing this course, they descried four French men of war to leeward. The admiral threw out the signal for a line of battle, but the French ships, although foul, (for they were part of M. Du Casse's Squadron, which admiral Benbow had engaged,) outsailed the English, and escaped. Graydon kept on his track, without crowding sail to overtake the enemy; and on the 12th day of May arrived at Barbadoes, where he was informed of the distressed situation of the fleet and troops that had quitted Guadaloupe, and were then at Nevis. Having collected all the supplies that the island could furnish, he sailed to their relief, which having very seasonably effected,

* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. III. p. 555.

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he proceeded to Jamaica, and arrived there on the 4th day of June. There he quarrelled with the principal planters of the island; and his ships beginning to be crazy, and their masts, stores, and rigging very defective, and the whole fleet ill-manned, he resolved to return to England. Accordingly, having left some ships to protect that island, he proceeded with the rest through the gulph of Florida, designing to attack the French at Placentia, in Newfoundland. He fell in with the coast on the 2d day of August, in the evening of which day so intense a fog arose, that the like had scarce ever been known even there, where fogs prevail more than in any other part of the known world; it continued during thirty days, and caused the fleet to be so dispersed, that it could not be assembled again until the 3d day of September; when the vice-admiral called a council of war, to deliberate on the expediency of attempting to reduce Placentia, and thereby entirely dispossess the French of Newfoundland. The officers that composed this council were, vice-admiral Graydon, rear-admiral Whetstone, and thirteen sea-captains; of the land-officers, colonel Rivers, commander in chief, six captains, and an engineer. It appeared, that the ships were in a bad condition, thinly manned, their crews sickly, a scarcity of provisions, and the men already at short allowance; the soldiers rendered unfit for service, by the severity of the climate, which had reduced five regiments to one thousand and thirty-five men; and farther, the reinforcement which was expected from New-England had failed; whilst, on the other hand, the French at Placentia were supposed to exceed in number, those that were to attack them; besides which, the approaches were to be carried on with great disadvantage of ground; this state of affairs led the council un-

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nimously to resolve, that to make an attempt on that place, with their shipping and force, at that advanced season, was highly unwarrantable, as instead of any probability of success presenting itself, it was likely to issue in the dishonour of her-majesty's arms. Hereupon Graydon returned to England, without having procured any advantages to his country, or any glory to himself.

The war on the continent continued to rage with great fury. The duke of Savoy, this year, deserted the interests of France and Spain, and concluded a treaty with the emperor. Peter II. king of Portugal, also joined himself to the grand alliance. In the Netherlands, the duke of Marlborough having concerted measures with the States of the United Provinces, was enabled to appear early in the field. He opened the campaign with the siege of Bonn, a strong city in the circle of the Lower Rhine, and the usual residence of the elector of Cologne. That prince had placed Bonn, with the rest of his dominions, in the hands of France, in the beginning of the war. The city was invested on the 24th day of April; the trenches were opened on the 3d day of May; and the marquis d'Alegre, after a gallant resistance, was forced to surrender the place, after a siege of twelve days. The French army, under the marshals Villeroi and de Boufflers, having, in the mean time, advanced towards Maestricht, and taken Tongres, the duke of Marlborough rejoined the confederate army in Flanders, and advanced against the enemy. The French declining battle, retired within their lines, which the duke resolved to force. The baron de Sparr performed this service with spirit and success. The duke of Marlborough had formed the design of reducing Antwerp, which was garrisoned by Spanish troops; under the command of the marquis de Bedmar.

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He intended, with the grand army, to attack the enemy's lines on the side of Louvaine and Mechlin, while he detached Coehorn, with his flying camp, on the right of the Scheld, towards Dutch Flanders, to amuse the marquis de Bedmar on that side; and he ordered the baron Opdam, with twelve thousand men, to take post between Eekeren and Capelle, near Antwerp, that he might act against that part of the lines which was defended by Spanish forces. Opdam, in attempting to force the lines, was driven back with loss, and obliged to retreat to Lillo, with a small part of his army; he believing all was lost, fled to Breda, whilst general Schlungenburg rallied the flying troops, and brought them to make head against the French so effectually, that the enemy were, in their turn, obliged to retire.

The French being unwilling to risk a general engagement with the allies, who were superior in conduct as well as in force, the duke of Marlborough sat down, with little interruption, before some places of considerable strength, and by reducing them, closed the campaign with honour and advantage. Huy, on the Maese, fell into his hands on the 26th day of June: in September he possessed himself of Limbourg; and after the city of Guildres had been blockaded and bombarded for fourteen months, it surrendered to the allies on the 17th day of September: so that, before the end of the campaign, the allies remained masters of all the Spanish Guelderland. Such was the campaign of 1703 in the Netherlands, which would probably have been followed by more important consequences, if the duke of Marlborough had not been restricted by the deputies of the States-general, who began to be influenced by the intrigues of the Louvestein party, which having formerly opposed a stadtholder, were

were now equally averse to the appointment of a single dictator, in the person of the duke of Marlborough. We have already observed, that the bigotry of Louis XIV. had kindled the flames of civil war in his own dominions; his severity having forced the protestants in the Cevennes, to an insurrection, which was not yet quelled. The allies, however, neglected to avail themselves of this circumstance; and after the ineffectual attempt to assist the insurgents, by means of a fleet sent into the Mediterranean, nothing farther was attempted for the relief of those oppressed religionists.

The parliament met on the 9th day of November, where great unanimity prevailed; and the necessary provision for maintaining the war by sea and land, during the next year, was cheerfully and liberally made. The treaties concluded since the recess of parliament, and the estimates of the army and navy being laid before the house of commons, they voted, that forty thousand men, including five thousand marines, should be employed for the sea-service of 1704; and that four pounds a man, each month, allowing thirteen for the year, should be granted for the maintenance of that force*.

Whilst these transactions passed in parliament, a calamity of a very uncommon kind happened. In the night of the 26th of November, the most violent tempest ever known in England, suddenly arose. The wind blowing from the south-west, with incredible force and noise, was accompanied with flashes of lightning, and peals of thunder, as threw the southern part of the kingdom, where its fury was chiefly felt, into consternation: it continued from about eleven o'clock at night to seven the

* Journals, November 23.

next morning. The houses in London shook from their foundations. Many of them fell, and buried the inhabitants in their ruins; and those which escaped were stripped of their tiles. The water overflowed several streets, and rose to a considerable height in Westminster-Hall: London-bridge was almost choaked up with the wrecks of of vessels that perished in the river. The loss sustained by the capital was computed at a million sterling; and the city of Bristol suffered to a prodigious amount: but the chief national damage fell upon the navy. Thirteen ships of war were lost, together with fifteen hundred seamen, including rear-admiral Beaumont, who was then at anchor in the Downs, where his ship foundered *. However, this

* The following is the best account that can be given of the particulars of this great loss:

1. The Reserve, a fourth rate, captain John Anderson commander, lost at Yarmouth. The captain, the surgeon, the clerk, and forty-four men saved; the rest of the crew drowned, being one hundred and seventy-five.

2. The Vanguard, a second rate, sunk in Chatham harbour, with neither men nor guns in her.

3. The Northumberland, a third rate, captain Greenway, lost on the Goodwin Sands; all her company was lost, being two hundred and twenty men, including twenty-four mariners.

4. The Sterling-Castle, a third rate, captain Johnson, on the Goodwin Sands; seventy men, of which were four marine officers, saved; the rest were drowned, being two hundred and six.

5. The Mary, a fourth rate, rear-admiral Beaumont, captain Edward Hopson, on the Goodwin Sands; the captain and purser ashore; one man, whose name was Thomas Atkins, saved; the rest, to the number of two hundred and sixty-nine, with the rear-admiral, drowned. The escape of this Atkins was very remarkable. He saw the rear-admiral, when the ship was breaking, get upon a piece of her quarter-deck, from which he was soon washed off; and, about the same time, Atkins was tossed by a wave into the Sterling-Castle, which sinking soon after, he was thrown the third man into her boat, by a wave that washed him from the wreck.

6. The York, a fourth rate, captain Smith, lost at Harwich; all her men saved except four.

7. The Mortar Bomb, a fifth rate, captain Raymond, on the Goodwin Sands; all her company lost, being sixty-five.

8. The Eagle advice-boat, a sixth rate, captain Bostock, lost on the coast of Sussex; all her company, being forty-five, saved.

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this loss was repaired with incredible diligence: for the queen immediately issued orders for building a greater number of ships than those which had been destroyed; and exercised her bounty for the relief of ship-wrecked seamen, and the widows of those who were drowned, in a manner that endeared her to all her subjects.

The storm which proved so fatal to England, was felt with equal severity in Holland: the dykes having been broken down in Friezeland by the violence of the waves, one-fourth part of that province was laid under water; and a squadron of men of war, under admiral Calemberg, was driven from the mouth of the Texel to the coast of Norway.

Charles, the archduke of Austria, being declared king of Spain by the emperor his father, and acknowledged as such by the allies, Sir George Rooke was sent, in the month of October, to Holland, in order to escort him to Lisbon. The young prince, who was second son to Leopold, set out from Vienna to Holland, and at Dusseldorp was visited by

9. The Resolution, a third rate, captain Lisle, on the coast of Sussex; all her company, being two hundred and twenty-one, saved.

10. The Litchfield Prize, a fifth rate, captain Chamberlain, on the coast of Sussex; all her company, being one hundred and eight, saved.

11. The Newcastle, a fourth rate, captain Carter, lost at Spithead; the carpenter and thirty-nine men were saved, and the rest, being one hundred and ninety-three, drowned.

12. The Veliuvius Fire-ship, a fifth rate, captain Paddon, at Spithead; all her company, being forty-eight, saved.

13. The Restoration, a third rate, captain Emms, three hundred and eighty-seven men, on the Goodwin Sands; not one saved.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel was then in the Downs with several great ships, which were all in the utmost danger; he cut his main-mast by the board, which saved the ship from running on the galloper of the breach, of which she was then in view. Sir Stafford Fairborne had his flag, as vice-admiral of the red, flying in the Association, in which he was driven first to Gottenburgh, and then to Copenhagen, from whence he did not get home till the next year. The Revenge was forced from her anchors, and with much ado, after driving some time on the coast of Holland, got into the river Medway; the Ruffel, captain Townsend, was forced over to Holland; and the Dorset, captain Edward Whitaker, after striking thrice on the galloper, drove a fortnight at sea, and then got safe to the Nore. — *Dr. Campbell.*

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the duke of Marlborough, who, in the name of his mistress, congratulated him upon his accession to the crown of Spain. The new king received him with every mark of esteem, and taking his own sword from his side, presented it to the English general, saying; "Sir, I am not ashamed to own myself a poor prince: I possess nothing but my cloak and my sword: the latter may be of use to your grace; and I hope you will not think it the worse for having been worn by me one day." "On the contrary," replied the duke, "it will always put me in mind of your majesty's just right and title, and of the obligations I lie under to hazard my life in making you the greatest prince in Christendom." The duke returned to England in October, but the king continuing longer on the continent, the tempest we have described retarded, for some short time, his proceeding to England as he intended, in his way to Portugal. The English ships, which lay in the Maese, suffered considerably; some were stranded and lost. The damage however was, in some measure, repaired, in the course of three weeks; and on the 23d day of December, Charles the Third embarked for England, escorted by the English and Dutch squadrons. He arrived at Spithead on the 26th, where he was received by the dukes of Somerset and Marlborough; who conducted him to Windsor, where her majesty received him with great magnificence. Having continued there three days, he repailed again to Portsmouth, and sailed from Spithead on the 5th day of January, with a favourable wind; but a storm arising in the Bay of Biscay, when the admiral had nearly reached Cape Finisterre, the fleet was dispersed, and driven back to the Channel. Sir George Rooke, who had the king of Spain on board his ship, returned to St. Helens, on the 20th of the same month; and

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although the utmost dispatch was used to refit the ships, it was the 12th day of February before the fleet again put to sea, and it reached the Tagus on the 25th.

Meanwhile the house of lords sat on foot an enquiry into the condition of the navy. They addressed the queen, desiring that speedy and effectual orders should be given, that a number of ships, sufficient for the home-service, should be equipped and manned with all possible expedition. The house likewise came to a resolution, that admiral Graydon neglecting to attack the four French men of war in the Channel, as he was proceeding to his station in the West-Indies, was prejudicial to the queen's service, and disgraceful to the nation: that his conduct, whilst at Jamaica, in pressing men there for the service, and his severity towards masters of merchant vessels and transports, had been a great detriment to the merchants and planters in that island, as well as injurious to her majesty's service; and they carried these resolutions to the throne in an address to the queen, in consequence of which Graydon, vice-admiral of the white, was dismissed the service.

In this year John Methuen, Esq; our ambassador at the court of Lisbon, concluded, on the part of his mistress the queen of Great-Britain, with Peter king of Portugal, an important treaty of commerce, to the mutual benefit of both kingdoms: by which his Portuguese majesty agreed, for himself and his successors, to admit into his kingdom the woollen cloths, and the other woollen manufactures of Great-Britain, on condition, that the wines of the growth of Portugal were admitted into those kingdoms; so that at no time, whether there should be peace or war between the kingdoms of Great-Britain and France, any thing more shall be demanded

demanded for Portugal wines, as custom or duty, than one-third part of the custom or duty paid by wines imported from France *. This beneficial convention, which was signed on the 27th day of December, 1703, has ever since remained inviolable, and thereby an uninterrupted friendship and alliance has subsisted between the two nations. By this treaty England gains a greater balance from Portugal than from any other country whatever; and the exports thither have increased from three hundred thousands pounds yearly to one million five hundred thousand pounds †.

Soon after Sir George Rooke had sailed, the English ministry were informed that the French were very busy in fitting out a powerful fleet at Brest, under the command of the count de Thoulouse, high-admiral of France, and a natural son of Louis the Fourteenth. This occasioned great uneasiness, as its destination could not be divined. At all events it was thought proper to equip, with the utmost expedition, a strong fleet, which was put under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, admiral of the white, who had under him Sir Stafford Fairborne, vice-admiral of the red, and George Byng, Esq; then rear-admiral of the same squadron. The admiral was instructed, if he found the Brest squadron still in port, to send away the trade, store-ships and victuallers, under a proper convoy, to Lisbon, and to remain before that port himself to endeavour to keep in the enemy; or, if that was found impracticable, to burn and destroy them if they came out. But in case he found the Brest squadron sailed, then he was to call a council of war, in order to judge what strength might be necessary to be sent to Sir George Rooke; and if it amounted to twenty-two ships, then he was to sail

* Collection of Treaties, Vol. IV. † King's British Merchant; Dedication to Sir Paul Methuen.

with them himself, that our fleet might, at all events, be stronger than that of the enemy. Sir Cloudesley executed his instructions punctually, and finding, that a great strength was necessary in the Mediterranean to oppose the French, he sailed thither about the latter end of May. Sir George Rooke, in the mean time, sailed, with the transports under his convoy, for Barcelona, it being the opinion of the prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, that the Catalonians would declare for the house of Austria, as soon as they should be assured of proper support and protection. On the 19th day of May the admiral landed his troops, which amounted to two thousand, and were commanded by the prince of Hesse; at the same time the Dutch ketches bombarded the place. The troops remained on shore all night, but the governor having taken care to secure all such as adhered to the house of Austria, none of the Spaniards resorted to the standard of Charles III. These unfavourable appearances led his highness to reembark the troops the day following, from an apprehension of their being attacked and overpowered by superior numbers.

On the 21st of May the admiral steered for the Isles of Hieres, but in their passage met with a storm, which separated his fleet. On the 27th they joined again, and had sight of a large French Squadron, which was steering for Toulon; and therefore it was resolved, in a council of war, to chase them thither, and if it was not possible to prevent their getting into that port, then to sail for Lisbon, in order to wait for a reinforcement; which was accordingly done. On the 14th of June our fleet passed through the Streights mouth, and were joined, two days after, by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with his Squadron, off Lagos: a council of war was then called, in order to consider what service should be
proceeded

proceeded on. Several schemes were proposed, particularly a second attack on Cadiz, which was soon found to be impracticable, for want of a sufficient number of land-forces.

On the 17th day of July the admiral called a council of war, in the road of Tétuan, wherein it was resolved to make an attempt upon Gibraltar. This important fortress, from its natural advantages, seemed to bid defiance to all the attacks of an enemy: it was however known to be very weakly garrisoned, and the surprize which such an unexpected assault would spread, might powerfully operate to its success. The harbour is formed by a mole, which the Spaniards had fortified and planted with guns. It is accessible only on the land-side, by a narrow passage between the rocks and the sea, which was walled and fortified. It had but two gates on that side, and as many towards the sea. Across this isthmus the Spaniards had drawn a fortified line.

On the 21st day of July, the fleet entered the bay of Gibraltar, and the marines, both English and Dutch, amounting to eighteen hundred men, were landed on the isthmus, under the command of the prince of Hesse; thereby all communication between the town and the continent was cut off. A message was sent to the governor, summoning him to surrender the place to Charles the Third: he answered, that he had sworn allegiance to Philip, and that he would defend the place for him. Hereupon admiral Byng, and the Dutch admiral Vander Dussen, were directed, with their ships, to cannonade the town, and captain Hicks was appointed to act against the south-mole. A French privateer, of twelve guns, lay under the old mole, which captain Whitaker was commissioned to destroy, which he effected on the 22d: the same day, at the first

first dawn of light, the signal was given for cannonading the town, which was performed with such vigour, that fifteen thousand shot were spent in five hours; the admiral perceiving that the enemy were thereby driven from their fortifications at the south-mole-head, gave orders to captain Whitaker to arm all the boats, and assault that quarter. Immediately, the captains Hicks and Jumper, who were nearest the mole, manned their pinaces, and entered the fortifications sword in hand. The Spaniards, to check this ardour, sprung a mine, by which two lieutenants and forty men were killed, and about sixty wounded; notwithstanding this, the two captains kept possession of the great platform, till they were sustained by captain Whitaker, and a body of seamen under his command, who took by storm, a redoubt, between the mole and the town. On this the admiral again summoned the governor to surrender, who finding the bravery of the assailants to be irresistible, capitulated on the 24th*. The same day the prince of Hesse marched

* The articles were, in substance, as follows:

1. That the garrison, officers, and soldiers, may depart with their necessary arms and baggage, and the officers, and other gentlemen of the town, may also carry their horses with them; they may likewise have what boats they shall have occasion for.
2. That they may take out of the garrison three pieces of brass cannon, of different weight, with twelve charges of powder and ball.
3. That they may take provisions of bread; wine, and flesh, for six days march.
4. That none of the officers baggage be searched, though it be carried out in chests or trunks: that the garrison depart in three days, and such of their necessities as they cannot carry out with conveniency, may remain in the garrison, and be afterwards sent for; and that they shall have the liberty to make use of some carts.
5. That such inhabitants and soldiers, and officers of the town, as are willing to remain there, shall have the same privileges they enjoyed in the time of Charles II. and their religion and tribunals shall remain untouched; upon condition, that they take an oath of fidelity to king Charles III.
6. That they shall discover all their magazines of powder, and other ammunition, or provisions and arms, that may be in the city.

7. That

marched into the town. Besides the natural strength of the place, the town was defended by one hundred guns mounted; it was also well supplied with ammunition, but the garrison consisted of no more than one hundred men. The French writers inveigh against this astonishing negligence in Spain, to suffer a place of such importance to be so weakly manned; however, in the opinion of officers who have seen the works, fifty men might have defended them against thousands; and the attack made by the seamen was brave almost beyond example †. Only sixty men were killed in this enterprize, of which were two lieutenants, and one master; two hundred and sixteen were wounded, among whom were one captain, seven lieutenants, and a boatswain ‡. As the attack was projected by the admirals, so was it executed entirely by the seamen; so that the whole honour of the achievement is justly due to them. Sir George Rooke leaving the prince of Hesse with as large a garrison as he could spare, at Gibraltar, passed over, with the fleet, to Tetuan,

7. That all the French, and subjects of the French king, are excluded from any part of these capitulations, and all their effects shall remain at our disposal, and their persons prisoners of war.—*Annals of Queen Anne.*

† Lediard's Naval History, p. 790.

‡ The ships employed in battering Gibraltar were:

E N G L I S H.		D U T C H.	
The Monmouth, captain Baker Suffolk, Kirton Essex, Hubbard Ranelagh, George Byng, Esq; Grafton, Sir Andrew Leake Nottingham, Whitaker Montague, Cleaveland Kingstone, Aston Nassau, Dove Swiftsure, Winn Berwick, Fairfax		The Eagle, Lord Hamilton	
		Buiford, Roffy	
		Lenox, Jumper	
		Yarmouth, Hicks.	
		— Schryven	
		Catwick, Okkers	
		Emelia, Beckman	
		Veluwe, Vanderdussen	
		Utrecht, Bolck	
		Frissa, Middagter.	

there

there to take in wood¹ and water. The marquis de Quincy remarks, that though Gibraltar was taken for king Charles III. yet it was never put into his possession, but has been ever since kept by the English, who, to say the truth, continues he, have dearly purchased it, since it has cost them more pounds sterling than there are stones in the fortifications *, but the advantages derived, in time of war, from the possession of this key to the Mediterranean, fully compensate England for all the expence which has been incurred by keeping it.

Rooke having supplied his fleet at Tetuan, got under sail on the 9th day of August, and that same day came within sight of the French fleet, as it was entering the Mediterranean, and proceeding to Malaga, where the commander expected some gallies to join him. On the 13th the combined fleet came within three leagues of the French, who brought too, with their heads to the southward, the wind being easterly, and forming a line, lay in a posture to receive the attack. It had been thought, till then, that the French declined an action, but now it was found, that they had only deferred it until the gallies from Malaga had joined them. The ships engaged in this memorable battle, with the commanders, force, &c. on both sides, were as follows :

* Hist. Militaire, Tom. IV. p. 421.

List of the English Fleet in the Mediterranean, under Sir George Rooke.

Frigates, Fire-ships, &c.	Ships Names.	Commanders Names.	Men.	Guns.	Divisions.	Killed.	W ^o .
	Somerset	Capt. Price	500	80		31	62
	Essex	Hubbard	440	70		13	36
	Triton	Trevor	230	50		5	21
	Dorsetshire	Whitaker	500	80		12	20
Charles Gally, 32 guns	Ranelagh	{ GEORGE BYNG, Esq; Capt. John Cole	{ 535	80	Rear-ad- miral of the Red 9.	24	45
Vulture fire-ship	Torbay	Caldwell	500	80		21	50
	Centurion	Herne	280	50		10	33
	Kingston	Acton	365	60		14	46
	Firme	Wild	440	70		25	48
Lark, 40 guns	Graffon	Sir Andrew Leake	440	70		31	66
Newport, 24	Nassau	Capt. Dove	440	70		15	26
Hunter } fire-ship	Montague	Cleaveland	365	60		15	34
Phoenix }	St. George	Sir John Jennings	680	96	Admiral	45	93
Jefferies, hospital	Royal Catherine	Sir GEORGE ROOKE	730	90	of the Red	27	94
Harre } bombs	Eagle	Lord Hamikon	440	70	9.	7	57
Terror }	Monmouth	Capt. Baker	440	70		27	62
Will. and Mary yacht	Panther	Bartie	280	50		10	16
	Shrewsbury	Crowe	500	80		31	73

Ships Names.	Commanders Names.	Mens.	Guns.	Divisions.	Killed.	Wo.
Frigates, Fire-ships, &c.						
Tartar, 34 guns						
Lightning fire-ship						
	Bedford	440	70		12	51
	Swallow	280	50		3	3
	Suffolk	440	70		13	38
	Royal Oak	500	76	Rear-ad- miral of	20	33
	Kent	400	70	the White	15	26
	Cambridge	500	80	8.	11	27
	Monk	365	60		36	52
	Burford	440	70		11	19
	Warpight	440	70		17	44
	Nottingham	365	60		7	19
	Assurance	440	66		6	14
	Orford	440	70		6	9
	Barfleur	710	96	Admiral	6	24
	Namur	680	96	of the	18	44
	Swiftsure	440	70	White 9.	13	33
	Tilbury	280	50		20	25
	Lenox	440	70		23	78
Roebeck, 40 guns						
Vulcan } fire-ship						
Griffin }						
Princess Ann, hospital						

Frigates,

Flag-ships, Fire-ships, &c.	Ships Names.	Commanders Names.	Men.	Guns.	Divisions.	Killed.	Wounded.
Garland, 50 guns Firebrand fire-ship	Newark	Capt. Clark	500	80	Vice-admiral of the Blue.	15	32
	Boyne	Lord Dursley	500	80		14	52
	Prince George	{ Sir JOHN LEAKE	700	90		15	57
		{ Capt. Martin		23		24	
	Berwick	Fairfax	446	70		15	20
	Norfolk	Knapp	500	80		7	26
Yarmouth	Hicks	440	70				
Frigates	6	Ships of the line	18785	2940	687	1632	
Fire-ships	7	41.					

The Dutch, having sent six of their ships home some days before, had but twelve left, viz. the *Dort*, *Gutderlandt*, *Union*, *Catwick*, *Nimeguen*, *Bavaria*, *Letawen*, *Damietta*, *Vlissingen*, *Albemarl*, *Het Wapen van Uytrecht*, and *Het Wapen van Friedland*.

Thus the confederate fleet consisted together of three-and-fifty ships of the line, and eighteen small craft; but the admiral ordered the *Swallow* and the *Panther*, two fourth-rates, with a fifth-rate and a sixth-rate, and two fire-ships, to lay to the windward of him, that, if the enemy's van should push through our line, with their gallees and fire-ships, they might rake them in their coarſe.

*A List of the French Men of War, which were in the Engagement.**VANGUARD, or the WHITE and BLUE DIVISION.*

Ships Names.	Commanders Names.	Guns.	Men.
Eclatant	Monf. De Belle Fontaine	66	730
Isle	De Mons	62	380
S. Philippe, Vice-Ad.	D'INFREVILLE	90	700
Heureux	Colbert St. Mar	70	450
Rubin	De Beneville	56	330
Arrogant	De Rherbief	62	350
Marquis	De Patonlet	60	350
Content	St. Maure	70	450
Fier, Admiral	DE VILETTE	88	800
Intrepide	Du Casse	84	600
Excellent	De la Roche Alard	62	350
Sage	De Monbaut	54	330
Ecueil	D'Argent	62	380
Magnifique, Rear-Ad.	DE BEL-ISLE	86	600
Monarque	Chabert	84	600
Perle	Le Mothure	54	300
16		1110	7700

CENTRE, or the WHITE DIVISION.

Furieux	Le Comte De Blenac	60	350
Vermandois	Monf. De Bethune	63	350
Lis	Le Chevalier De Villars	88	600
Etonnant, Vice-Adm.	Monf. CORTLOGON	90	700
Orgueilleux	Du Palais	88	600
Esperance	De Lagnion	50	330
Serieux	Champmelin	58	380
Fleurion	De Grancey	56	350
Vainqueur	Le Bailly de Lorraine	88	600
Fondroyant, Admiral	Le Comte De TROULOUSE	104	950
Terrible	Monf. De Relingue	104	900
Entreprenant	De Haptesfort	60	350
Fortune	De Baigneux	58	350
Parfait	Le Marq. De Chateau-morand	74	470
Magnanime, Rear-Ad.	Monf. DE POINTIS	84	600
Sceptre	Le Comte De Bailly	88	600
Fendant	Monf. De la Lucerne	58	350
17		1271	8830

REAR,

REAR, or the BLUE DIVISION.

Ships Names.	Commanders Names.	Guns.	Men.
Zelande	Monf. De Ferville	60	350
St. Louis	De Beaujeu	60	380
Admirable, Rear-Ad.	DE CEPEVILLE	92	675
Couronne	De Champigni	88	500
Cheval Marin	De Pontac	44	260
Diamant	Doroyne	58	350
Gaillard	Du Mont	54	330
Invincible	Roverois, or Rouver	70	450
Soleil Royal, Admiral	DE LANGERON	102	850
Ardent	D'Aliegre	66	400
Trident	De Modefne	56	350
Coureur	Philippeaux	60	380
More	De St. Claire	52	330
Thouloufe	Du Quene Mon	60	380
Triomphante, Vice-A.	DE LA HARTELOIRE	92	750
St. Esprit	Du Quene Gui	72	490
Henri	Servigni	66	400
17		1152	7625

Men 24155
Guns 3533

F R I G A T E S.

Etoile	Monf. Gonfon	30	190
Hercule	Rouvré	20	170
Andromede	Chamilli	8	85
Diligence	Mafmet	6	60
Medufe	Roquemadere	28	150
Oifeau	Figuiera	36	180
Galatie	Degorti	11	120
Sibille	Guittolin	10	70
8		149	1025

Also 9 fire-ships, 12 gallies of France, and 11 of Spain, with 2 Flutes; in all 92 fail.

In

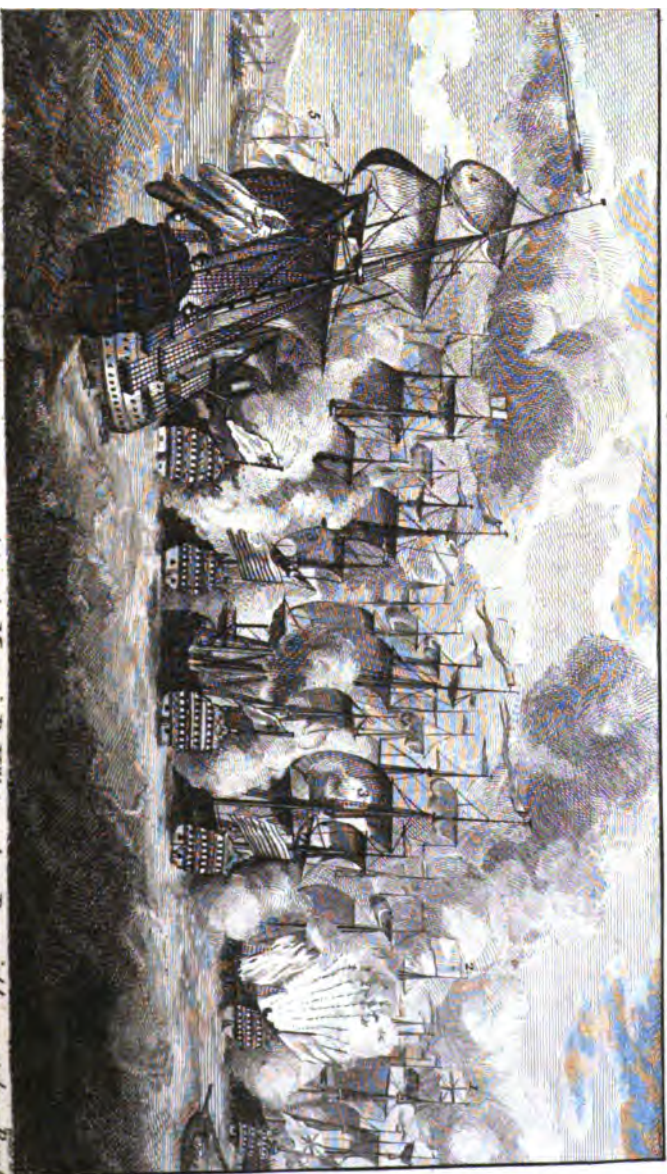
In the centre of the French fleet was the count de Thoulouse, high-admiral of France, with the white squadron. The battle began about ten in the morning, north and south, off Malaga, at ten or eleven leagues from shore, and lasted till night. Our fleet bore down in order of battle, and the engagement began with equal fury on both sides, and continued to rage with doubtful success, till two in the afternoon, when the enemy's van began to give way; nevertheless, the fight was maintained till night, when the French bore away to leeward. Sir Cloudesley Shovel, in the *Barfleur*, discharged the first broadside, on which he was bravely assailed by the marquis de Villette; but a bomb falling on the French admiral's stern, blew up his poop, and set his ship on fire in three places, when he was obliged to quit the line of battle to extinguish the flames. M. de Belleisle, the rear-admiral of the van, drove into the hottest of the fire, and fell early in the action; but his captain saved the ship from destruction, by falling out of the line. Nothing could surpass the bravery of Sir Cloudesley Shovel on this memorable day; he set all his sails, and rowed with three boats a-head, to get along side the French admiral: scarce a ship in his division that had not one, at least, of their masts shattered; his own ship escaped the best; and the *Lenox*, *Warspite*, *Tilbury*, and *Swiftsure*, suffered most*. In Sir George Rooke's division, his own ship the *Royal Catherine*; the *St. George*, commanded by Sir John Jennings, (afterwards admiral of the white, and a lord of the admiralty); and the *Shrewsbury*, captain Crowe, were in the hottest of the fire. The wind shifting before the next morning, the French gained the weather-gage; but that day was spent in inaction,

* Sir Cloudesley Shovel's Letter.

although

Engraving for Hervey's Naval History.

Book II. Chap. 3.



1807. The French Admiral's vessel being boarded by the British. The French Admiral's vessel is shown on fire, and his ship is on fire. The British ships are engaged in the battle. The French Admiral's vessel is shown on fire, and his ship is on fire. The British ships are engaged in the battle. The French Admiral's vessel is shown on fire, and his ship is on fire. The British ships are engaged in the battle.

although the two fleets lay within three leagues of each other, repairing the damage they had sustained. The French, instead of making use of the advantage which the wind afforded them, the next night sailed, and stood to the northward. For two successive days the English admiral endeavoured to renew the engagement, which the count de Thoulouse declined.

The officers killed and wounded, on the side of the English, were captains Sir Andrew Leake of the *Grafton*, and Crowe of the *Shrewsbury*; four lieutenants, two warrant-officers, killed. Captains Mynge (*Namur*); Baker (*Monmouth*); Jumper (*Lenox*); Mighells (*Monk*); and Kirkson (*Sussex*), with thirteen lieutenants, and thirteen warrant-officers, were wounded; six hundred and eighty-seven private men were killed, and sixteen hundred and thirty-two wounded. Of the French were slain, a rear-admiral, five captains, six lieutenants, and five sea-ensigns. The count de Thoulouse himself was wounded in the forehead, shoulder, and thigh; the count de Reliques had his leg shot off; the marquis de Herbault, intendant of the fleet; monsieur du Casse, commodore of a squadron; Le Marq. de Chateau Morand; the count de Phelipeaux; the count de Cominges; M. de Valincourt, secretary to the admiral of France, seven captains, eight lieutenants, and about one hundred and fifty inferior officers were wounded; of private men, killed and wounded, the whole amount was three thousand and forty-eight*.

In this action the French possessed very signal advantages, notwithstanding they were unquestionably worsted: their ships were larger; for in their fleet were seventeen three-decked ships, whilst the

* Borchet's Naval History, p. 681. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. III. p. 397.

confe-

confederates had only seven, two of which were Dutch men of war: their weight of metal gave them also a great superiority, they having a much greater number of guns: their ships were clean, being just come out of port; whereas ours had been long at sea, and had done hard service: farther, they had the assistance of their gallies, which did them essential service: they were well provided with ammunition, which ours so much wanted, that several ships were towed out of the line, because they had not either powder or ball sufficient for a single broadside. But the skill of the admiral, and the bravery of the officers and seamen under his command, supplied all defects, and decided our superiority at sea. The French indeed claimed the victory, as they never fail to do, whenever misrepresentation can render such claim plausible. Louis the Fourteenth wrote a letter to the archbishop of Paris, directing *Te Deum* to be sung on that occasion, and afterwards published an account to corroborate this assertion. Such conduct was a necessary state-artifice, in order to lessen the ill consequences which would have attended the notion of a defeat being entertained by the nation. Mr. Burchet says indeed, "that it is not unreasonable to think, that had the French commander known how much several of our ships of the line were in want of powder and ball, or otherwise disabled from farther action, they would not have made so great haste home, but rather have tried the event of a second engagement *." The French academy went so far as to cause a medal to be struck on the occasion, as if instead of being defeated, their countrymen had gained a victory, the memory of which was worthy of being transmitted to posterity. The fact is, that both sides deserved the victory, had success

* Naval History, p. 679.

depended

depended on valour. Though no ships were sunk or lost, the fleets were so much disabled, that neither shewed any great inclination to renew the fight. The French, unable to assist the Spaniards, made the most of the wind to carry them to their own port of Toulon, while Sir George Rooke, having waited for them two days, at length left a squadron under the command of Sir John Leake, on the coast of Spain, to protect the trade, and frustrate any designs which the enemy might form, and then proceeded to Gibraltar, with the fleet of the allies. On the 24th day of August the admiral left that harbour, and that day month reached England.

Such were the important transactions which distinguished the summer of the year 1704 at sea; on the continent the exploits of the confederate army were still more conspicuous and decisive. Marlborough had, in the beginning of the year, visited Holland, and concerted the operations of the campaign with the States, after which he returned to England before the prorogation of parliament. When the season for action approached, he embarked at Harwich, to put the grand army of the allies in motion. The success of the two last campaigns having put the confederates in possession of the Maese and Spanish Guelderland, such a strong barrier was formed on the side of Flanders, that a small number of forces were thought sufficient to protect the States against all assaults. The duke was therefore left at liberty to lead the army into the heart of Germany, to retrieve the affairs of the emperor, whose situation had become desperate, through the progress made by the joint force of the French and Bavarians, which almost threatened his capital. Nor were these the only enemies which Leopold had to encounter. The

Vol. III.

R

Hungarians

Hungarians becoming discontented with the government, prince Ragotski headed the malecontents, who took up arms, and being supported by France and Turkey, became formidable to the state.

The duke of Marlborough traversed extensive countries by hasty marches, and was joined by prince Eugene, at the head of the Imperialists. On the 28th of June, his camp was formed within two leagues of the emperor of Bavaria's army. The troops of the allies consisted of ninety-six battalions of foot, and two hundred and two squadrons of horse and dragoons, provided with forty-four pieces of field cannon, four howitzers, and twenty-four pontoons. The force of the enemy was inferior in point of numbers, consisting only of eighty-eight battalions of foot, and one hundred and sixty squadrons of horse; but they had ninety pieces of cannon, forty mortars and howitzers, and thirty pontoons. It was resolved, in a council of war, to attack the elector of Bavaria's lines, which were drawn near the strong town of Donawert, on the Danube. Marlborough, at the head of three English battalions, led to the attack; the contest continued two hours; at length the English forced their way, and drove their enemies before them. The loss on each side, in this desperate action, was considerable, and very equal; five hundred English being slain, and as many of the Bavarians and French. The duke, by this event, obtained many important advantages: he became master of the banks of the Danube, and of the bridge across that river, by which means he cut off the communication between the troops of the enemy, which were stationed on the Upper and Lower Danube; and the electorate of Bavaria became exposed to the ravages of the victors. Soon after marshal Tallard, at the head of
three

three thousand French troops, joined the elector, and stopped the farther progress of the confederates.

The French army, including Bavarians, now consisted of near sixty thousand men; Marlborough was at the head of about fifty-two thousand troops, that had been accustomed to conquer, and had seen the French, the Turks, and the Russians fly before them. Though the allies possessed the banks of the Danube, they were little able to draw sufficient supplies from their magazines, or to penetrate into Bavaria: so that they earnestly sought an opportunity of bringing on a general engagement, for which purpose they attentively watched every motion of the enemy. The evil destiny of France, the ignorance and haughtiness of her generals, the marshals Tallard and Marsin, together with the vehemence of the elector himself, at length presented the wished-for opportunity. As this battle, both from the talents of the generals, the improvements in the art of war, the number and discipline of the troops, and the greatness of the contending powers, is reckoned the most remarkable of this century, it demands a more particular detail.

The French were posted on a hill, their right being covered by the Danube, and the village of Blenheim; they were commanded by marshal Tallard; their left was defended by a village, and headed by the elector, and Marsin, an experienced French general. In the front of their army ran a rivulet, the banks of which were steep, and the bottom marshy. Marlborough and Eugene went together to observe the posture of the French forces. Notwithstanding their situation, they resolved to attack them immediately. The battle began between twelve and one in the afternoon *. Marlborough, at the head

* 13th of August, 1704.

of the English troops, having passed the rivulet, attacked the cavalry of Tallard in the right. This general was, at that time, reviewing the disposition of his troops in the left; and the cavalry fought, for some time, without the presence of their general. Prince Eugene, on the left, had not yet attacked the forces of the elector; and it was an hour before he could bring his troops up to the engagement.

Tallard had no sooner understood that his right was attacked by the duke, but he flew to its head. He found the furious encounter already begun, his cavalry thrice repulsed, and rallied as often. He had a large body of forces in the village of Blenheim; he made an attempt to bring them to the charge. They were attacked by a party of Marlborough's forces so vigorously, that, instead of assisting the main body, they could hardly maintain their ground. All the French cavalry, being now attacked in flank, was totally defeated. The English army, thus half victorious, penetrated between the two bodies of the French, commanded by the marshal and the elector, while, at the same time, the forces in the village of Blenheim were separated by another detachment. In this terrible situation, Tallard flew to rally some squadrons, but, from his short-sightedness, mistaking a detachment of the enemy for his own, he was taken prisoner by the Hessian troops, who were in English pay. In the mean time, prince Eugene on the left, after having been thrice repulsed, put the enemy into confusion. The rout then became general, and the flight precipitate. The consternation was such, that the French soldiers threw themselves into the Danube, without knowing where they fled. The officers lost all their authority; there was no general left to secure a retreat. The allies were now masters of the
field

field of battle, and surrounded the village of Blenheim, where a body of thirteen thousand men had been posted in the beginning of the action, and still kept their ground. These troops, seeing themselves cut off from all communication with the rest of the army, threw down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Thus ended the battle of Blenheim, one of the most complete victories that was ever obtained. Twelve thousand French and Bavarians were slain in the field, or drowned in the Danube; thirteen thousand were made prisoners of war. Of the allies about five thousand were killed, and eight thousand wounded or taken.

The loss of the battle is imputed to two capital errors committed by marshal Tallard; first weakening the centre, by detaching such a number of troops to the village of Blenheim, and then suffering the confederates to pass the rivulet, and form unmolested. When the duke of Marlborough, the next day, visited his prisoner, the marshal paid him the compliment of having overcome the best troops in the world. "I hope, Sir," replied the duke, "you will except those by whom they were conquered."

The battle of Blenheim, which seemed to decide the fate of Germany, turned the whole scale of the war against the house of Bourbon. The loss of the French and Bavarians, in killed, drowned, wounded, deserted, and prisoners, amounted to near one-half of their army. The camp equipage, baggage, and artillery of the enemy, fell into the hands of the conquerors, together with every other trophy attending on a complete victory. It was however obtained by the loss of a considerable number on the side of the allies: fourteen thousand men were either killed or wounded; and among the slain, were
many

many officers distinguished by their merit, as well as by their rank. The troops under prince Eugene having met with the greatest resistance, suffered the most. The elector, and the marshal de Marfin, though not routed, retired with every mark of a defeat, under the cover of night, to Ulm, where they continued only the next day; still retreating, they directed their route through the Black Forest, and at length joined marshal Villeroi on the Rhine.

The consequences which followed this memorable victory had all the importance which might have been expected from so decisive a blow. The conquests and dominions of the elector of Bavaria fell, at once into the hands of the emperor, who retaliated severely upon the subjects of that prince; the excesses which had been committed on the Imperialists. A country, seventy leagues in extent, was exposed to all the ravages and miseries which incensed conquerors were disposed to commit. The French, ruined, broken, and dispersed, left a free and uninterrupted march to the confederates, from the Danube to the Rhine. The remains of an army, that at the beginning of the campaign, spread terror even to the gates of Vienna, were now forced to take shelter within the kingdom of France. The victors crossed the Rhine: they entered Alsace, and the important fortresses of Landau and Trearbach fell into their hands *, before the close of the campaign †.

In Flanders the campaign was spent inactively. Auverquerque, who commanded the allies on the frontiers of Holland, bombarded Namur, without effect, in the month of July. This was the only attempt which was made, both sides acting on the

* November 19 and 23, 1704.

† Voltaire.

defensive.

defensive. The archduke, now recognized by the title of Charles III. king of Spain, had with him in Portugal eight thousand English and Dutch troops, but his competitor Philip V. at the head of twenty thousand French, carried the war into that kingdom early in the spring. Several places fell into his hands; and in various skirmishes, the Portuguese were worsted. Affairs wore this unfavourable aspect in Portugal, from an unhappy misunderstanding which had arisen between the king of Portugal, and the duke of Schomberg, who commanded the English and Dutch auxiliaries, which arose to such a height, that the queen recalled that nobleman, and appointed the earl of Galloway to succeed him. The king of Portugal, and Charles III. having made an unsuccessful attempt to cross the river Agueda, and penetrate into Castile, by crossing the kingdom of Lion, were at length forced to retreat before the duke of Berwick, into the heart of Portugal.

The brilliant successes which had crowned the arms of the allies, both by sea and land, during this memorable year, had given a very favourable turn to the aspect of affairs in England. The portentous appearances at the beginning of the year, occasioned a great fall in the value of the public funds. The Bank of England therefore was obliged again to issue their sealed bonds for a large sum, which bore interest, and by that means supported their credit. The East India company also was obliged to raise a considerable sum on their bonds, to enable them to fit out their ships. Yet such is the fluctuating state of public credit in the time of war, that the victory at Blenheim, on which the fate and liberty of Europe, in general, but of Germany in particular, was suspended; and the taking the important fortress of Gibraltar, and
defeating

defeating the French fleet soon after, gave a wonderful turn to affairs all over Europe, and particularly to the public credit of England; whilst its foreign commerce and colonies considerably increased, and of consequence the home manufactures.

In this state of affairs the parliament met on the 29th day of October, when the queen, in her speech, took notice of the great and remarkable success with which God had blessed her arms, and the satisfaction which it had spread through all parts of the kingdom. The two houses of parliament, actuated by the opposite party-principles which prevailed in each, in their addresses, expressed their sentiments of the advantages gained by the land and sea commanders, very differently. The lords confined themselves to the glorious success of her majesty's arms under the duke of Marlborough, and were quite silent on the acquisition of Gibraltar, and the engagement at sea. The splendor of the victory obtained at Blenheim, was made use of invidiously to obscure the important, though less decisive, affair off Malaga. The commons very widely differed in their sentiments from the upper house. They chose to consider the battle of Blenheim, and Rooke's naval exploits, as equally important and glorious. It was happy for the nation, that these divided sentiments, with respect to particular commanders, did not impede the business of the nation. Supplies were liberally voted; also a bounty to the seamen and land forces, who had behaved themselves so gallantly in the late actions both by sea and land *. Four millions six hundred and seventy thousand nine hundred and thirty-one pounds, were granted for the service of the ensuing

* Journals.

year,

year, which were raised by a land-tax, the sale of annuities, and other expedients. A provision was made for forty thousand seamen, for the year 1705, including eight thousand marines. One hundred thousand pounds was allowed for the ordinary of the navy for the same year, and forty thousand pounds to the office of ordnance for the sea service, over and above the usual provision; ten thousand pounds were likewise given for constructing a wharf and storehouse at Portsmouth.

The business of the supply being dispatched, the house of lords sat on foot very close and important enquiries respecting the conduct of naval affairs. The council appointed to assist the lord high admiral, were much censured for neglecting to pay sufficient attention to the interests of the merchants. Many of the lords inveighed with great force of eloquence against their supineness and inattention to this essential national concern; which led the house to appoint two committees of enquiry; one of which was to inspect the books at the Admiralty Office, in order to gain exact information of the conduct the board had pursued; and the other, to enquire into what was done at sea. Such spirited measures tended to strike at the root of the evils complained of; and laid open all the wrong steps which had been winked at, either on account of private friendship, or the prejudices of party. It was found, that twenty-two ships had been appointed for cruises during the summer, and by the accounts transmitted to the Admiralty Office, it appeared that they had done their duty so negligently, that three ships, with active commanders, might have been equally serviceable. It likewise appeared, that there were ten flags in pay, three of which were not at sea: that admiral Churchill had not been at sea in any year of the war; that admiral

ral Graydon had been ashore all the last year; and that he had been employed notwithstanding the house had addressed her majesty for his discharge. It farther appeared, that Sir James Wishart, though a rear-admiral, had the last year been Sir George Rooke's captain: that Sir John Munden, though he had not done his duty, had a pension of three hundred and nineteen pounds a year, besides other less important matters of complaint. In consequence of the report made by the committee, the house addressed the queen, on the score of mismanagement in the admiralty department. Complaints of such a nature may be supposed to have been particularly unwelcome to the royal ear, as they covertly reflected on the prince her consort; however, her majesty wisely concealed her dislike, and in her answer assured the house, that she would take the substance of their address into her serious consideration, and give such directions as should appear most conducive to the public service. Dr. Campbell calls this address, which was presented on the 5th day of February 1704-5, one of the most valuable state-papers extant, as it is a noble instance of the true spirit of an English parliament*. It shews how enquiries may, and ought to be conducted, and how agreeable to the nature of the constitution it is to lay before the throne, as well as to exhibit to the people, true representations of the manner in which the executive part of government is performed. Hence it was, that this war was carried on much cheaper than our naval armaments have been at any successive period. When the legislative power is vigilant in watching over the officers of the state, flagrant abuses in the application of the public money, or neglects of the nati-

* *Lives of the Admirals*, Vol. III. p. 407. note.

onal weal, seldom happen : but when such enquiries are discouraged, or made only for form, to amuse the people with a fallacious hope of having their wrongs redressed ; or sat on foot to serve the little purposes of party, who, under colour of discovering the frauds of a minister, mean no more than to become ministers themselves ; the welfare of the kingdom is sported with, and a spirit of plundering insinuates itself into all public offices.

The enquiries into the transactions at sea during the last summer, it must be confessed, were made with less public spirit. Herein party zeal sharpened into the keenest edge of invective, the speeches of several lords. Sir George Rooke, on whom alone these obloquies fell, was so highly offended at the treatment he received, that he quitted the service in disgust, to the great satisfaction of the Whigs, and regret of the Tories. The history of this country cannot show another instance in which a commander met so ungrateful a return for such eminent services ; and that, immediately upon the performance of those services. Justice demands this acknowledgment from an historian, whom no party distinction ought to draw aside from an adherence to truth, so far as it is discoverable. The nation was certainly under obligations to this admiral, which it ought not to have forgot : had the admiral indeed been as cool and temperate in debate as he was in action, this spirit of opposition would never have been excited ; but the violent manner in which Sir George expressed his attachment to Tory principles, especially as a member of the house of commons, drew on him the resentment of the whole body of Whigs, whose prejudices against him were not to be removed by his most laborious and successful exertions as a commander at sea. This is mentioned as an exte-

uation, not as an excuse for the treatment he received *.

During

* As Sir George Rooke survived his retreat but a few years, it will be proper to give here some short memoirs of his life. This gentleman was the son of Sir William Rooke, Knt. of the county of Kent, and was born in the year 1650. His father destined him for a learned profession, for which he began early to prepare him by a liberal education; but the strong natural bias of the son counteracted the designs of the parent. It is probable that Sir William Rooke lived in the vicinity of a sea port, from whence the genius of the son to naval affairs might be at first drawn forth; his father, however, at length finding all attempts to oppose this inclination in his son ineffectual, consented to his making a voyage on board a man of war. From the very first he distinguished himself by unwearied application and undaunted courage, and as his father's interest served to render these qualities more conspicuous, he soon obtained the post of a lieutenant, and before he was thirty years of age, was appointed to the command of a ship. Soon after James II. ascended the throne, Rooke was appointed to the command of the *Deptford*, a fourth rate man of war, which ship appears by the list, which we have given in our second volume, page 381, to have been stationed off Orfordness, when the Dutch fleet convoyed king William and his troops to Torbay. It should seem, that he was well affected to the revolution, as he was early employed by admiral Herbert, to cruise on the coast of Ireland, where he had the command of a small squadron, and rendered essential assistance to the protestant cause, by relieving Londonderry, in conjunction with major-general Kirk, and the land forces, the particulars of which have been already related †. Soon after, he was employed in convoying the duke of Schomberg's army, and landing them safe near Carrickfergus, facilitated the siege of that place, and after it was taken, sailed with his squadron along the coast, where he first looked into the harbour of Dublin, manned all his boats, and insulted the town, although king James was there in person; and in the night of the

† Vol. II. p. 404.



SIR GEORGE ROOKE.

During these domestic transactions, the French and Spaniards determined to attempt the recovery of Gibraltar. Those powers foresaw all the consequences resulting from the English possessing that marine

the 18th of September, he formed a design of burning all the vessels in the harbour, which he would have certainly executed, if the wind had not shifted, so as to drive him out to sea. From thence he sailed to Cork, into which haven he likewise looked, though in the apprehension of the people of Ireland, it was the best fortified port in the island; but Sir George soon convinced them of the contrary; for, notwithstanding all the fire from their batteries, he entered, and took possession of the great island; and might have done more, but that his ships were so foul they could scarce swim; and his provisions grown so short, that he was obliged to repair to the Downs, where he arrived in the middle of October, having acquired great reputation by his activity and good service. In the beginning of the year 1690, he was, upon the recommendation of the earl of Torrington, appointed rear-admiral of the red; and in that station served in the fight off Beachy-Head, which happened on the 30th of June, the same year; and, notwithstanding the misfortune of our arms, which was indubitably the greatest we ever met with at sea, Mr. Rooke was allowed to have done his duty with much resolution; and therefore the lords and others, appointed to enquire into the conduct of that affair, had orders to examine him and Sir John Ashby, who, in their account, justified their admiral, and shewed, that the misfortune happened by their being obliged to fight under vast disadvantages.

Notwithstanding that Rooke, by exculpating his admiral, counteracted the secret wishes of those, from whose favour preferment might be expected; yet though his friends feared such consequences, the event was otherwise, for very soon after, he was appointed to command the squadron that convoyed the king to Holland; after which he joined the grand fleet under admiral Russel, which remained inactive during the summer; the French, although so lately victorious, not choosing to risk another battle. In the spring of the year 1692, he again convoyed king William

marine barrier, which have since been realized; such as, affording a secure station for ships of war, as well as a retreat for merchantmen, and a refreshing harbour for both: besides which, its vicinity to

William to Holland; soon after which he was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral of the blue. In that same year was fought the memorable battle off La Hogue. In this engagement he contributed greatly to the dispersion of the French fleet; but the full display of his bravery and conduct appeared in the destruction of thirteen French men of war, which had taken refuge near La Hogue, which has been already circumstantially related *. In this bold action only ten men were killed. King William was so sensible of the important service which our admiral had performed, that he settled a pension of one thousand pounds a year upon him for life: he was soon after appointed vice-admiral of the red; and when the king reviewed his fleet at Portsmouth the next spring, he did the vice-admiral the honour of dining on board his ship, at which time he knighted him.

The next service in which Sir George Rooke was employed, proved indeed extremely unsuccessful, but in no respect tarnished the glory which he had before acquired. This was escorting the Smyrna, or Levant fleet, from England †. In this transaction one thing is very remarkable, viz. that in France, Tourville, and his inferior admirals, were blamed for not having made the most of their superiority; and the admirals themselves, instead of endeavouring to disprove the general charge, accused each other with want of conduct, and neglect of duty, each was aiming at nothing more than to exculpate himself. On the other hand, the conduct of Sir George Rooke remained uncensured, either by his own countrymen, or by the Dutch, whose Gazettes asserted, that the English admiral gained more reputation by his escape, than accrued to the French by their conquest. King William soon after made him one of the lords commissioners of the admiralty; and before the close of the year 1694, raised him from vice-admiral of the red, to the rank of admiral of the blue.

* Vol. II. p. 440.

† Idem, p. 454.

to Cadiz, and situation at the southern extremity of Europe; gave England every advantage she could wish, for annoying the Spaniards in their intercourse with the West-Indies, in time of war. Philip of Spain therefore

blue. But though his sovereign gave these testimonies of his entire approbation of his conduct, yet he underwent an examination, before the bar of the house of commons. In the evidence which he gave on that occasion, he said, that if his opinion had not been overruled, he might, very probably, have passed the enemy in the night, and then a few only of the heaviest sailing ships, could have fallen into their hands. Yet, he added, that he did not suspect he was overruled by the majority of votes in the council of war, from any disaffection or incapacity in the officers that composed it, but because they did not credit his suspicion, that the whole French fleet lay in Lagos Bay *.

In the year 1695 our admiral, for the third time, commanded the Squadron which convoyed king William to Holland; and, in the autumn of the same year, being then admiral of the white, he was appointed admiral, and commander in chief in the Mediterranean, having a fleet of seventy men of war and merchantmen, under his care; all of which arrived in safety at their destined ports. From this voyage he returned in April 1696. When admiral Russel, the next year, was created earl of Orford, and placed at the head of the admiralty, Sir George Rooke was appointed admiral, and commander in chief of the fleet; but nothing of moment was attempted. However, our admiral's vigilance detected a clandestine trade which had been carried on in vessels, built at Sweden, and nominally belonging to that kingdom, but actually freighted by Dutch, French, or Hamburg merchants, and bound to French ports. Rooke fell in with a large fleet of these Swedish merchantmen, whom he brought too, and insisted upon searching them, upon which strong presumptive proof came out, that most of their cargoes belonged to French merchants, whereupon he sent the whole fleet into Plymouth. The Swedish ambassador loudly exclaimed against this

* Journals of the House of Commons.

therefore sent a body of troops to attack Gibraltar by land, under the command of the marquis Villadanas, whilst a fleet of French men of war, consisting of thirteen ships, commanded by their rear-admiral de

this proceeding; and some of the ministry were inclined to discountenance it. Sir George, however, insisted, that the matter should be brought to a fair trial, before the court of admiralty; where, upon the clearest evidence, it appeared, that these Swedish ships were freighted by French merchants, partly with French goods, but chiefly with Indian merchandize, which had been taken out of English and Dutch ships; and, that the Swedes had no further concern therein, than as they received two per cent. by way of gratification, for lending their names, procuring passes, and taking other necessary precautions for screening the French merchants effects; so that the whole of this rich fleet was adjudged to be good prize; and the clamours that had been raised against Sir George Rooke, were converted into general applause.

Peace being now restored, we are to take a view of Sir George Rooke in his senatorial capacity. In 1698 he was elected member for Portsmouth, and attached himself to the Tory party with great zeal. The very first session he sat in the house, he opposed the measures of the court with such vehemence, that the king was pressed to remove him from his seat at the admiralty-board; but that generous monarch replied, "Sir George Rooke served me faithfully at sea, and I shall not displace him for acting as he thinks most for the service of his country in the house of commons." An answer truly worthy of a British king, as it tended to preserve the freedom of our constitution, and the liberty of parliaments*.

In the year 1700, Sir George was again called forth to exert himself in the line of his profession, by taking the command of a fleet of ships, which should over-awe the king of Denmark, and oblige him to desist from those schemes which he had formed against Charles XII. of Sweden, and his brother-in-law the duke of Holstein-Gottorp. The manner in which our admiral accomplished this

* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. III. p. 343.

de Poincis, blocked up the place by sea. The prince of Hesse gained a knowledge of these designs early in the month of October, and sent advice thereof

this important business, is not among the least meritorious actions of his life : but the whole transaction has been already fully treated of*.

The next year a new parliament was summoned, and Sir George Rooke was again returned a member for Portsmouth. The spirit of party discovered itself before the house was even formed, for in the choice of a speaker, Sir Thomas Lyttelton had the suffrages of the court, and Mr. Robert Harley, afterwards the famous earl of Oxford, was nominated by the Tories. Even king William interested himself so far in this contest, as to ask Sir George Rooke, among many other members, to promote the interest of Sir Thomas Lyttelton. But such was the independent spirit of our admiral, that he dared to contradict the will of his sovereign, by voting for Mr. Harley, who was chosen.

Upon the accession of queen Anne, in 1702, Sir George was constituted vice-admiral, and lieutenant of the admiralty of England, as also lieutenant of the fleets and seas of this kingdom ; and, upon the declaration of war against France, it was resolved, that he should command the fleet sent against Cadiz, the duke of Ormond having the command of the land-forces. The disgust which the duke conceived against our admiral, caused his conduct at Cadiz to be severely arraigned by the nation at large, notwithstanding the signal service he had done his country at Vigo. We have already spoken of that expedition, so that it is only necessary to observe here, that Sir George Rooke's sentiments were, that we should wage war against France, and endeavour to keep on good terms with Spain ; and on this principle he acted when before Cadiz.

During this expedition a new parliament was called, and our admiral was chosen in his absence, once more member for Portsmouth. One of the first resolutions made by

* Page 46 of this Volume.

thereof to Sir John Leake, who lay at Lisbon with his squadron. The admiral hastened immediately to the relief of the place, and landed several gunners, carpenters, and engineers, together with a body of

it, was to return thanks to Sir George Rooke, for his gallant services. The Tory interest greatly prevailed in the new house of commons, so that they were very ready to do justice to the merits of this great commander, who, when he took his seat in the house, was addressed by the speaker in the following terms :

“ SIR-GEORGE ROOKE,

“ You are now returned to this house, after a most glorious expedition : her majesty began her reign, with a declaration, that her heart was truly English, and heaven hath made her triumph over the enemies of England ; for this, thanks hath been returned, in a most solemn manner, to Almighty God : there remains yet, a debt of gratitude to those who have been the instruments of so wonderful a victory ; the duke of Ormond, and yourself, who had the command of the sea and land-forces. In former times, admirals and generals have had success against France and Spain separately ; but this action at Vigo hath been a victory over them confederated together : you have not only spoiled the enemy, but enriched your own country ; common victories bring terrors to the conquered ; but you brought destruction upon them, and additional strength to England. France hath endeavoured to support its ambition by the riches of India ; your success, Sir, hath only left them the burden of Spain, and stripped them of the assistance of it. The wealth of Spain, and ships of France, are, by this victory, brought over to our juster cause. This is an action so glorious in the performance, and so extensive in its consequence, that, as all times will preserve the memory of it, so every day will inform us of the benefit.

Wherefore,

of four hundred marines. Having thrown in this necessary succour, he returned to Lisbon, not having a sufficient strength to make head against the French fleet, which was then approaching.

“ Wherefore the house of commons, Sir, have come to the following resolution :

“ RESOLVED, *Nemine contradicente*, That the thanks of this house be given to the duke of Ormond and Sir George Rooke, for the great and signal service performed by them for the nation, at sea and land ; which thanks I now return you.”

To this Sir GEORGE ROOKE answered.

“ MR. SPEAKER,

“ I am now under great difficulty, how to express myself on this very great occasion : I think myself very happy, that, in zeal and duty to your service, it hath been my good fortune to be the instrument of that which may deserve your notice, and, much more, the return of your thanks. I am extremely sensible of this great honour, and shall take all the care I can, to preserve it to my grave, and convey it to my posterity, without spot or blemish, by a constant affection, and zealous perseverance in the queen’s, and your service. Sir, no man hath the command of fortune, but every man hath virtue at his will ; and though I may not always be successful in your service, as upon this expedition, yet I may presume to assure, I shall never be more faulty.

“ I must repeat my inability to express myself upon this occasion ; but, as I have a due sense of the honour this house hath been pleased to do me, I shall always retain a due and grateful memory of it. And, though my duty and allegiance are strong obligations upon me, to do my best in the service of my country, I shall always take this as a particular tie upon me, to do right and justice to your service, upon all occasions.”

ing. However, he quickly returned with a fresh supply of necessaries for the use of the garrison, and on the eighth day of October entered the bay, where he surprized and took two frigates, one of forty-two

The house of lords acted very differently, for being instigated by the duke of Ormond, they sat on foot an enquiry into the conduct of Sir George Rooke at Cadiz: in consequence of which Sir George was, once more, interrogated at the bar of the house; where he justified himself so fully, that his merit became more illustrious by this scrutiny into his behaviour. The duke seems to have been convinced, before the business was gone through, of the unreasonableness of his own heat, and the propriety of the admiral's conduct.

The next event worthy of recording in the memoirs of this great man, is, his prudent yet spirited conduct towards the Portuguese, when he had carried over Charles III. king of Spain, from England to Lisbon, in the spring of the year 1704, and then lay with his fleet in the Tagus. The king of Portugal expected, that when he came on board the admiral's ship, publicly to conduct the new king of Spain on shore, when the standard which was set up in his vessel of state should be struck, the English flag might be likewise struck; and when the two kings should quit the ship, and go on board the royal yacht, the standard of Portugal might be hoisted, and the admiral's flag continue struck until they were on shore. This proposition was made from the king of Portugal by the king of Spain; to which the admiral replied, that his majesty, so long as he should be on board, might command the flag to be struck when he pleased; but that, whenever he left the ship, he was himself admiral, and obliged to execute his commission by hoisting his flag. This, and some other reasons, satisfied the king of Spain, as well as his Portuguese majesty; so that the flag of England was no longer struck than the standard of Portugal. Rooke's steady adherence to the glory of his country, even in a ceremonious punctilio, unimportant indeed in itself, but like all other ceremonials expressive of preeminence and distinction, displeased neither of the kings, and whilst he remained at the court

two guns, and the other of twenty-four, with some smaller vessels. Besides these advantages, he arrived very opportunely to prevent the storming of the town, which was intended to have taken place

court of Lisbon, he continued to receive every possible mark of respect and esteem.

The summer of 1704, as it closed the public life of Sir George Rooke, so was it the most eminent for great actions, of any period in his glorious career. Dr. Campbell informs us, "that in the council of war which was held in the road of Tetuan, Sir George Rooke himself proposed the attacking of Gibraltar; so that the merit of that attempt justly belongs to him *." We have already mentioned the astonishing oversight of the Spanish court, in neglecting to furnish a proper garrison for the defence of so important a place; and though most writers agree, that the natural advantages which Gibraltar possesses, might have enabled even the hundred men that did duty there, to repel the besiegers; of which opinion is Voltaire, yet we can by no means subscribe to that sentiment; and later experience will warrant our dissent from such authorities. When the prince of Hesse defended it against the French and Spaniards, his garrison, at the first, was no ways inconsiderable, and it was soon after augmented to three thousand men; yet, even then, five hundred desperate fellows had well nigh gained the summit of the rocks, and had their valour been well supported by the fleet and army, their boldness might have been crowned with success, instead of precipitating them into destruction. And two-and-twenty years ago, when lieutenant-general Fowke commanded there, that officer went so far as to disobey a positive order from the secretary of war, for drafting as many troops from the garrison as should be equal to a battalion, and putting them on board the fleet for the relief of Minorca, because he had only two thousand seven hundred men to defend the place, which will be fully treated of, when we come to relate the transactions of the year 1757. The bravery of our seamen, in this memorable siege, is not lessened by this remark, only the success with which it was crowned becomes less

* Lives of the Admirals, Vol. III. p. 535.

place the following night. During the whole month of November, the English admiral rendered essential services to the besieged, and greatly annoyed their enemies. Early in December the Antelope and

less wonderful. Bishop Burnet blames Rooke for his manner of carrying on the attack, and represents the bombarding of the town as altogether ineffectual, and a wasteful expenditure of ammunition; but the good prelate, who was no soldier, herein spoke the sentiments of a party. It ought not to be forgot, that Sir George Rooke attacked Gibraltar on the 22d day of July; and on the 13th day of the next month, beat the grand fleet of France, in a general engagement. These events reflect such lustre on the activity, bravery, and skill of our admiral, as to entitle him to a very distinguishing rank in the list of English naval heroes.

Although the nation in general, and the ministry particularly, were backward in applauding their successful chieftain, and shewed a disposition to lessen his merit, by magnifying that of his coadjutor Sir Cloudesley Shovel, yet some addresses were presented from different parts of England, expressing the fullest sense of Sir George Rooke's services; among these addresses, one from the county of Cornwall was presented by Sir Richard Vyvian, Bart. and James Buller, Esq; the representatives in parliament for that county; which, for the justness of the sentiments which it breathes, and the eulogium which it bestows on Sir George Rooke, merits a place here.

“ To the QUEEN'S Most Excellent Majesty.

“ Permit, madam, the landlords, bounders, adventurers, and whole body of the tinnors of Cornwall, with hearts full of dutiful acknowledgments, to approach your majesty, who want words to express their gratitude, their joy, their admiration, for the wonderful success of your majesty's arms, under the conduct of his grace the duke of Marlborough.

“ Never was success greater in all its circumstances, a design more wisely formed, more secretly carried on, so effectually

and Newcastle men of war arrived, with a small fleet of transports, having on board near two thousand land forces, all which, by good fortune, seconded by good conduct, had escaped from de Pointis's

factually supported from home, so vigorously executed abroad, on which, no less than the liberty of Europe depended; a cause worthy the best of princes, a victory worthy the greatest of generals, which will transmit to all future ages, your majesty's name truly great; great for deliverance, not for oppression.

"But, it is not enough that your majesty triumphs at land; to complete your glory, your forces at sea have likewise done wonders. A fleet so much inferior, in so ill a condition, by being so long out; in such want of ammunition, by taking Gibraltar; without gallies, which were of so great service to the enemy: all these disadvantages considered, nothing certainly could equal the conduct of your admiral, the bravery of your officers, the courage of your seamen, during the engagement; but their conduct, their bravery, and their courage after it, whereby they perfected a victory, which otherwise, in human probability, must have ended in an overthrow; an action as great in itself, as happy in its consequences.

"May your majesty never want such commanders by sea and land, such administration in the management of the public treasury, which so much contributes to the success of armies and fleets.

"May your majesty never want (what sure you never can) the hearts, the hands, the purses, of all your people. Had not we, madam, of this country, inherited the loyalty of our ancestors (which your majesty has been pleased so graciously to remember) such obligations must have engaged the utmost respect; and such, all of us will ever pay to your sacred person and government, as with one voice we daily pray, *Long live Queen ANNE*, to whom many nations owe their preservation."

This, and some other addresses of the like nature, alarmed the ministry extremely; and they took so much pains to hinder Sir George Rooke from receiving the compliments usual upon such successes, that it became visible, he must either

Pointis's fleet, which by displaying English and Dutch colours, had endeavoured to ensnare them. By the arrival of this force, the garrison was augmented to more than three thousand men, which rendered the

either give way, or a change happen in the administration. Yet, even the weight of the ministry could not prevent the house of commons from complimenting the queen, expressly upon the advantages obtained at sea, under the conduct of our admiral; but the house of lords, who were under a more immediate influence at that time, was entirely silent; the commons, however, as if they intended to push this matter as far as it would go, presented another address on the 2d of November, in which, they desired her majesty to bestow a bounty upon the seamen and land forces, who had behaved themselves so gallantly in the late actions at sea and land. This determined the point, and Sir George Rooke perceiving that, as he rose in credit with his country, he lost his interest with those at the helm, resolved to retire from public business, and prevent the affairs of the nation from receiving any disturbance upon his account. Thus as the Tories had before driven the earl of Orford from his post, immediately after the glorious victory at La Hogue, so the Whigs returned them the compliment, by making use of their ascendancy to a similar purpose, with regard to Sir George Rooke: such is the effect of party spirit in general! such the heat with which it proceeds! such its dangerous and destructive effects with respect to the welfare of the state *.

From this time Sir George Rooke lived as a private gentleman, and chiefly resided at his seat in Kent. His zeal for the church, and strict adherence to the Tories, strongly endeared him to one set of people, and called forth the bitter enmity of another. He had been long afflicted with the gout, which disorder at length terminated his life on the 24th day of January 1708-9, in the 58th year of his age. He was thrice married; first to Mrs. Mary Howe, the daughter of Sir Thomas Howe, of Cold Berwick, in the county of Wilts, Bart. next to Mrs. Mary Lutterel, daughter of colonel Francis Lutterel, of Dunster-castle, in

* Dr. Campbell.

the place so secure, that the fleet returned to Lisbon in order to refit. Early in the year 1705, the Spanish general Villadarias, was superseded, and the command bestowed on marshal De Tessé, captain

in Somersetshire, who died in July 1702, in child-bed of her first child, (a son, named George, who survived his father, and inherited his fortune;) afterwards he married Mrs. Katharine Knatchbull, daughter of Sir — Knatchbull, of Mufham Hatch, in the county of Kent, Bait. We are told by Dr. Campbell, that his executors took care to perpetuate his memory, by erecting a beautiful monument in the cathedral church of Canterbury, with an elegant Latin inscription, recording the principal occurrences of his life, and the leading features of his character.

Sir George Rooke was unquestionably a naval commander of distinguished merit, if both conduct and courage meeting in the same person can confer it. In party matters he was too warm and eager, and like the Roman Coriolanus, drew on himself the resentment of those whom he opposed. Notwithstanding, in the heat of battle, he was perfectly cool and collected, and issued out his orders with the same serenity as characterized the great Marlborough in like circumstances. In the promotion of officers, he was influenced by no other consideration than their personal merit, and never viewed their desert with "the jaundiced eye of party." He had that innate fortitude of mind, which enabled him to maintain a dignity of character upon all occasions, as well in the day of examination, as in the day of battle; and when called to the bar of the house of lords, or of the commons, he always escaped censure, although he steadily maintained what he thought to be right, and spoke his sentiments with the freedom of an Englishman, whenever his conduct in his country's service was brought in question. In his private life he was a good husband, and a kind master; lived hospitably with his neighbours, and left behind him only a moderate fortune; and when one of his friends who was present when he made his will, expressed some surprize that Sir George Rooke should have no more wealth to leave, he assigned the best reason possible, saying, "I do not leave much it is true, but

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what

tain general, and a Frenchman, who, though he surpassed his predecessor in military skill, yet he disgusted the Spanish officers, who were too haughty to receive orders from a foreigner. On the 6th day of March, Sir Thomas Dilkes arrived in the Tagus from England, with five third rate men of war, and a body of troops, whereupon the vice-admiral Sir John Leake, set sail for Gibraltar, and coming within sight of the bay on the 10th day of March, he descried five sail of the line coming out. He immediately gave chase to these ships, which proved to be the *Magnanime* of eighty-four guns; the *Lilly* of eighty-eight guns; the *Ardent* of sixty-six guns; the *Arrogant* of sixty guns; and the *Marquis* of fifty-six. These were commanded by M. de Pointis in person, who was on board the *Magnanime*. The *Arrogant* struck to Sir Thomas Dilkes, after having made a very weak defence; the other four ran ashore to the westward of Marbella, in Andalusia, where they were destroyed. The remaining part of the French squadron having a few days before been blown from their anchors, had taken shelter in Malaga Bay, but hearing the report of the guns, they slipped their cables, and stretched away for Toulon. The marshal de Tessé, having now lost the assistance of the fleet, and find-

what I have was honestly gotten; it never cost a sailor a tear, or the nation a farthing." Indeed he gave a remarkable instance of his disinterestedness and integrity, at the time that he quitted his public employments: he had then a considerable balance in his hands of the public money, which had been remitted to him for the service of the navy; a privy-seal was offered him for the passing his accounts without requiring the surplus, but he nobly declined the favour, adjusted his accounts with the most scrupulous exactness, and paid back the full amount of what he became charged with.

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ing the English ride triumphant at sea, turned the siege of Gibraltar into a blockade *. During this siege, upwards of eight thousand bombs were thrown, and seventy thousand cannon shot fired against the town, but to very little effect. From that day the French no longer made a figure with their numerous fleets, on the ocean and the Mediterranean. The marine now sunk again into that weak condition from whence Louis had raised it, in the same manner as many other grand things, which had their rise and fall during his reign †.

While Sir John Leake was employed in this expedition, Sir George Byng was sent, with a small squadron, to cruise in the Soundings, to protect the merchant-ships. It was in consequence of the enquiries which the house of lords had sat on foot, that a flag officer was appointed to superintend this service, which proved very beneficial to the trade of England, as well as a great annoyance to the enemy; for a French man of war of forty-four guns, together with twelve privateers, and seven merchant-ships, richly laden from the West-Indies, were captured.

The grand fleet was now put under the command of the earl of Peterborough, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel; the latter of whom was chosen by the Whigs to supply the place of Sir George Rooke. The earl of Peterborough was one of the most extraordinary men that England, so fruitful in bold, courageous, and uncommon geniusses, ever produced. He was a man that strongly resembled those imaginary heroes, whom the Spaniards have represented in their romances. These joint commanders had a well appointed fleet, consisting of twenty-nine line of battle ships, besides frigates, fire-ships,

* April 29.

† Voltaire,

bombs, and other small craft, and five thousand land-forces. On the 11th day of June they arrived in the Tagus. Here they met with Sir John Leake and his Squadron, also the Dutch admiral Allemonde; the combined fleet then amounting to forty-eight ships of the line. In a council of war it was determined, to put to sea with this force, and to station it in such a manner, between cape Spartel and the bay of Cadiz, as might best prevent the junction of the French Squadron from Toulon and Brest. The prince of Hesse-Darmstadt arriving from Gibraltar, assured king Charles, that the province of Catalonia, and the kingdom of Valentia, were attached to his interest; and his majesty being weary of Portugal, resolved to accompany the earl of Peterborough to Barcelona. He accordingly embarked with him on board the Ranelagh, and the fleet sailed on the 28th day of July, the earl of Galway having reinforced them with two regiments of English dragoons. At Gibraltar they took on board the English guards, and three old regiments, in lieu of which they left two new-raised battalions. On the 11th day of August they anchored in the bay of Altea, in the kingdom of Valentia, where the earl of Peterborough published a manifesto in the Spanish language, which had such an effect, that all the inhabitants of the place, the neighbouring villages, and adjacent mountains, acknowledged king Charles as their lawful sovereign. They seized the town of Denia, for his service; and he sent thither a garrison of four hundred men, under the command of major-general Ramos. On the 22d they arrived in the bay of Barcelona: the troops were disembarked to the eastward of the city, where they encamped in a strong situation, and were well received by the country people. King Charles landed amidst the acclamations of an infinite number from the

the adjacent towns and villages, who threw themselves at his feet, exclaiming, "Long live the king;" and exhibited all the marks of the most extravagant joy. The inhabitants of Barcelona were well affected to the house of Austria, but, over-awed by a garrison of five thousand men, under the duke de Popoli, Velasco, and other officers devoted to the interest of king Philip. Never was admiral in a more untoward situation than Sir Cloudesley Shovel at this time: considering the strength of such a garrison, and the small number of Dutch and English troops, nothing could appear more desperate and dangerous than the design of besieging the place; yet this was proposed by the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, who served in the expedition as a volunteer: it was also strongly urged by king Charles, and approved by the earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudesley Shovel. The land-officers were, however, divided in their opinions: a violent misunderstanding had arisen between the earl of Peterborough and the prince of Hesse; and the army was unprovided with every requisite for carrying on a siege, all which the admiral alone could supply from his fleet. On this trying occasion Shovel gave the most signal proofs, not only of his vigilance, address, and courage, but of his persevering patience, and zeal for the public service. He furnished guns for the batteries, and men to work them; he landed, for the use of the army, almost all the military stores of the fleet; he not only gave prudent advice himself in all councils of war, but he moderated the heats and resentments of others. The city was accordingly invested on one side, but as a previous step to the reduction of it, they resolved to attack the fort of Montjuic, strongly situated on a hill that commanded the city. The outworks were taken by storm, with the loss of the gallant prince of

of Hesse, who was shot through the body, and in a few hours expired: the earl of Peterborough then began to bombard the body of the fort, and a shell chancing to fall into a magazine of powder, blew it up, together with the governor, and some of the best officers: this accident struck such terror into the garrison, that they immediately surrendered. Batteries were then erected against the town, with the help of the miquelets and seamen; the bomb-ketches began to fire with such execution, that in a few days the governor capitulated; and on the 28th day of September, king Charles entered in triumph. All the other places in Catalonia declared for him except Roses; so that one of the largest and richest provinces in Spain was subdued by an army scarce double the number of the garrison of Barcelona. It was then determined, in a council of war, that the king of Spain, and the earl of Peterborough, should continue in Catalonia with the land-forces, and that Sir Cloudesley Shovel should proceed for England with the best part of the fleet; that Sir John Leake, with a strong squadron, should remain in the Mediterranean; that six ships should be left to attend the earl of Peterborough, two more remain at Gibraltar, and a third and fourth rate be employed in cruising for the homeward-bound Brazil fleet. In pursuance of which resolutions, Sir Cloudesley, with nineteen ships of the line, and part of the Dutch fleet, passed the Straits on the 16th day of October, and arrived at Spithead on the 26th day of November following, after having conducted a most glorious sea campaign.

In some measure to counterbalance these successes in the Mediterranean, a fleet of merchantmen, homeward bound from the Baltic, who were convoyed by three men of war, was met by a French squadron, consisting of five men of war and five privateers,

privateers, commanded by the count de St. Paul, which sailed from Dunkirk. The whole fleet of merchant-ships, being twelve in number, together with their convoy, fell into the hands of this squadron. The count de St. Paul, who, after the death of the famous Du Bart, was looked upon as the best seaman in France, and was therefore promoted to the command of the Dunkirk squadron, in the room of M. de Pointis, was shot with a musquet ball in the heat of the action, and killed upon the spot. When the account of this action was brought to Louis XIV. at Versailles, he received the news with great coolness, saying, with a sigh, "I wish the prizes were all safe in any English port, if that would restore me M. de St. Paul." By such generous testimonies of respect for true merit, the French king, in the midst of his misfortunes, maintained a succession of brave officers, ever ready to expose their lives in his service*.

At home we had this year an instance of naval discipline, which deserves a place in this work. One captain Cross, who commanded the *Elizabeth*, gave her up to the French in the channel, after a very slight defence. He was tried by a court-martial on board the *Triumph*, on the 25th of August, Sir George Byng being president, and having twelve captains to assist him. It appeared there, that he shewed the utmost signs of fear, which intimidated the men, and that if he had behaved as he ought to have done, the enemy might have been repulsed, and the ship saved. He offered several things in his defence, such as that, his surgeon was sick, and many of the men were drunk, and would not do their duty; but, upon a full hearing, he was declared guilty of neglect of duty, and the sentence pronounced upon him was,

* Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, Vol. III. p. 431.

that

that he should be cashiered, rendered incapable to serve her majesty in any capacity, forfeit all the arrears due to him, and remain a prisoner for life, which sentence was executed without any mitigation, except as to his imprisonment.

We shall now take a slight view of the proceedings of the allied army, under the command of the duke of Marlborough. In the beginning of April, his grace passed over into Holland, and having concerted the operations of the campaign with the states, took the field early in May. His aim was to improve the victories of the preceding campaign, by carrying the war by the Moselle into the heart of France. For this purpose he marched through the country of Lembourg. On the side of France great efforts were made to oppose the victorious Marlborough. The broken remains of the army were re-assembled, the garrisons were drained, and the militia ordered to take the field. An army was at last mustered up, and marshal Villars was recalled from the remotest part of the Cevannes, to take upon him the command. The army of France was assembled near Treves. Both generals were equally desirous of coming to an engagement, but the prince of Baden failing to join the allies with the army of the empire, as it is generally supposed, out of envy at Marlborough's unequalled greatness; Villars had at least the honour of compelling the English general to decamp, no inconsiderable glory at that time. Voltaire gives us a letter written by the duke to the marquis at decamping, which runs thus: "Do me the justice to believe, that my retreat is owing to the prince of Baden; and that my esteem for you is greater than my displeasure against him *."

* Age of Louis XIV. chap. 18.

Just as the operations of the campaign commenced, the emperor Leopold died at Vienna, and was succeeded on the Imperial throne by his eldest son Joseph, king of the Romans. The new emperor was so destitute of resources, that he was incapable of furnishing his quota of troops. The French availed themselves of this posture of affairs, Hui fell into their hands, and Liege was threatened with an attack. By the duke's decampment, the progress of the French in Flanders was checked; Hui was retaken on the 12th day of July, and the duke resolved to retrieve, by some enterprize of consequence, the glory lost by his retrograde motions.

This was no other than a scheme for forcing the French lines, for which purpose his army encamped within a league of the enemy. The elector of Bavaria, and the marshal Villeroi, perceiving the design of the allies, drew their armies together, leaving only small detachments to defend the lines on either side. On the 17th day of July, the duke of Marlborough gave orders for the Dutch to march towards the Mchaigne, which lay about half a league to the right of the French camp: this was meant as a faint; while, at the same time, he ordered ten thousand men to form on his right, and to lie down there, on their arms. When it grew dark, this body marched towards two barriers which defended the enemy's camp on the left. The whole army followed this detachment; and the Dutch, who had been sent off a contrary way, immediately faced about, and proceeded in the same route. The elector of Bavaria, at length, apprized of the duke's real design, ordered the left wing of his cavalry to march, to prevent the allies from passing the barriers; he himself following with the infantry. But the English had already formed within the lines.

After a fierce shock between the duke and the Bavarian infantry; the latter were obliged to give way: ten battalions, however, throwing themselves into a hollow square, marched off in defiance of the cavalry of the allies, and protected, as they retreated, their flying friends. In this action the confederates took the marquis D'Alegré, and the count De Horne, lieutenant-generals; one major-general, two brigadier-generals, with many other officers, and a great number of common soldiers; with a profusion of military trophies, and ten pieces of cannon. The duke, in this action, narrowly escaped death, whilst charging at the head of a detachment: a Bavarian officer aimed a blow at him with his scymeter, but in endeavouring to give it extraordinary force, he fell from his horse, and was instantly killed. The French and Bavarians having, after the action, retired behind the Dyle; the rest of the campaign was passed in inactivity.

A new parliament met on the 25th day of October, in which the interest of the Whigs was found greatly to preponderate. The queen, in her speech, represented the necessity of acting vigorously against France, as a common enemy to the liberties of Europe: she signified her intention to expedite commissions for treating of an union with Scotland; earnestly recommended an union of minds and affections among her people; declared that her endeavours should be steadily exerted to promote religion and virtue, to encourage trade, and whatever else might tend to make her subjects happy and prosperous.

The issue of the last campaign, both by sea and land, having furnished a fair prospect of humbling the house of Bourbon in Flanders, and dispossessing them of Spain, the house of commons cheerfully passed the supplies: they voted two hundred and fifty

fifty thousand pounds for prosecuting the advantages which had been gained in Spain; and for the whole service, during the succeeding year in that kingdom, they gave seven hundred and twenty-five thousand seven hundred and forty pounds in addition. The supply for the sea-service, during the year 1706, was rated at forty thousand men, including marines: the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds was voted for the ordinary of the navy; ten thousand pounds to the office of ordnance, for the works at Portsmouth; and eighteen thousand two hundred and ninety-eight pounds seventeen shillings, for ordnance stores and carriages for eight new ships built to supply the loss of such as perished in the great storm*.

Provision being thus made for carrying on the war with spirit the ensuing year, both houses proceeded, almost without debate, in settling a treaty for an union of the two kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland. One hundred and four years had now elapsed since the two crowns had been united in the person of king James I. A consolidating union had been attempted several times before in different reigns, but had been always obstructed by the opposition which it met with; notwithstanding, the true interests of both kingdoms strongly urged the measure. By an union the force necessary to be drawn together, in order to repel any attack from the continent, would be greatly strengthened; an united people, inhabiting the same island, naturally warlike, would be ever able to defend themselves against any foreign attacks; but remaining disjointed, they had their different, and often contrary, interests to pursue, not only in matters of trade and commerce, product and manufactures, but even in friendship

* Votes of the House of Commons, 1705.

and affection towards other nations. The external mode of religious worship contributed its share likewise in keeping up the difference; and what had perhaps the greatest influence of all, ancient and deeply-rooted national prejudices on both sides, remained too strong to be easily conquered. Farther, the great hereditary offices of the weaker kingdom, and the possessors of many other lucrative state-offices there, which must necessarily be sunk upon such an incorporating union with England, had no small influence in obstructing it. However, as a more moderate way of thinking began to prevail in both nations, the expediency of the measure was more clearly seen. The lord high-treasurer Godolphin, a wise and able minister, strenuously laboured to accomplish this important work. He foresaw, that without this the Hanover succession could never take place; the war with France would be ineffectually carried on, and the nation would never be free from apprehensions of domestic turmoils. In order to render himself popular in Scotland, he had consented to the passing of some acts of parliament there, which put the people of that kingdom upon a footing with those of England. The treasurer prosecuted this business in conjunction with lord Somers; and when they had adjusted the plan, they took the advice of the most eminent statesmen of Scotland, particularly the earl of Stair, a man eminent for his political abilities. This nobleman was extremely serviceable in the farther progress of the design: he shewed them how his countrymen might be managed; he pointed out such as would oppose it heartily, and such as would oppose it only till they found their account in desisting from that opposition. The advantages held forth to Scotland were, the freeing that kingdom at once from all the grievances of which they complained;

complained; such as, that their interest always gave way to that of England; that their concerns abroad were sacrificed, instead of being protected; that with equal prejudice they were considered sometimes as subjects, but mostly as foreigners; that they were discouraged in carrying on their trade and manufactures; and; in fine, continually upbraided with their poverty, while it was made an invariable maxim in English policy to keep them poor. By this union it was proposed to make them one nation with the English; and to admit them to a full participation of their liberties, privileges, and commerce; as also to a share in the government and legislature, and a perpetual conjunction of interests, both abroad and at home; so that henceforward the government of the united kingdom would be equally in the hands of persons of both countries, which would prevent partiality on the one side, and take away many hardships which had hitherto been felt on the other. In short, it was urged, that for the sake of peace and general security, the English were content to grant their neighbours, not only as good conditions as they could well expect, but even better than they could reasonably desire; and that, to obtain the friendship and assistance of Scotland, the people of England were desirous to bury in oblivion, all their former prejudices, and to contribute all in their power to support and enrich the inhabitants of the northern part of the island, and to treat them so favourably in point of taxes, as that they should have reason to be very well pleased with the exchange of nominal prerogatives, for real and weighty advantages*.

Many considerations induced the gentry of Scotland to wish well to an union. Those who had fre-

* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 8.

quently

quently visited England, and observed the protection which all men received from a house of commons, and the security that it procured against partial judges, and a violent ministry, entered into the design with great zeal: the opening a free trade, not only with England, but with the plantations, and the protection of the fleet of England, captivated the trading part of the nation, and opened to their view the means of rendering the nation rich and considerable. Those who had deeply engaged in the Darien scheme, and were great losers by it, saw now no honourable way to be reimbursed. Such being the disposition of moderate men in the two nations towards an union, we shall dismiss this matter at present, and go on to speak of the farther proceedings in the house of commons, reserving what remains to be said on the subject, to the transactions of the following winter, when the treaty received the sanction of the legislature in both kingdoms.

On the 14th day of March, 1705-6, the house resolved: 1. That in order to man the navy for the year 1706, the justices of peace, and other civil magistrates, be impowered and directed to make search after seamen that lay concealed. 2. That the said justices and civil magistrates cause such seamen, when found, to be delivered to such persons, as should be appointed to receive them. 3. That a penalty should be laid upon such persons as should presume to conceal seamen. 4. That a reward be given to such persons as should discover, and take up such hidden seamen. 5. That conduct-money be allowed. 6. That seamen being turned over from one ship to another, should receive the wages due on the former ship. 7. That able bodied landmen be raised for the sea-service. To bring these resolutions to effect, they ordered, that the committee

mittee to whom the bill for the encouragement and encrease of seamen; &c. was committed, should have power to receive a clause, or clauses, pursuant therunto, and to receive a clause for discharging such seamen, and other insolvent prisoners as were in prison for debt; and delivering them into her majesty's service on board the fleet; which being passed into an act, received the royal assent on the 19th. The same day the lords addressed her majesty on the same subject, praying her to take it into her royal care, and employ proper persons to consider of effectual means to restore the discipline of the navy, in order to be laid before the parliament the beginning of the next session. Pursuant to which, her majesty, a few days after, caused a long proclamation to be published for the better putting in execution the act of parliament abovementioned.

During these important transactions at home, preparations were made abroad for opening the campaign with vigour on all sides.

Sir John Leake, who had been left in the Mediterranean with a squadron, in proceeding to Lisbon; where he was appointed to winter, met with such a long continuance of bad weather, that he was thirteen weeks on his passage thither from the coast of Catalonia, which had so greatly reduced the provisions on board, that the allowance of bread was no more than two pounds a week for each man; and when thus scantily dealt out, it was only enough to furnish five weeks subsistence. In this distress the admiral fell in with a fleet of victuallers off Cape St. Vincent, which had been sent from England; and which brought them very seasonable relief. Soon after the admiral's arrival in the Tagos, he received dispatches from the lord high-admiral, informing him of the galleons which were fitting out at Cadiz for the Spanish West-Indies, which he was instructed

instructed to endeavour to intercept; the king of Portugal likewise represented to Mr. Methuen the necessity that there was for a squadron of force to put to sea, in order to meet and escort the homeward-bound Brazil fleet; the admiral had also pressing orders from home to succour Barcelona, which was then exposed to the French fleet by sea, and the army of Philip by land. In order to effect all these purposes, it was resolved, in a council of war, to proceed immediately to sea with all the ships, consisting of nine third rates, one fourth, two frigates, two fire-ships, and one bomb-vessel English; six ships of the line, one frigate, two fire-ships, and a bomb-vessel Dutch, and to proceed to the bay of Cadiz, there to endeavour to take or destroy the galleons. A considerable reinforcement of men of war was expected from England, and with them some transports and troops for Catalonia; and upon a junction with these, the other two objects of the expedition were intended to be pursued. When this plan of conduct was resolved upon, the admiral acquainted the English ambassador, Mr. Methuen, that it would be necessary to lay an embargo on all ships and vessels; that the enemy might have no intelligence of the design that was formed. The court of Portugal thereupon ordered the embargo to be laid. No thing is more uncertain than the success of the best formed project; the failure of this arose from an unexpected quarter. Our admiral got under sail on the 24th day of February; but when he was near the bar at the mouth of the Tagus, several shot were fired at him from St. Julian's Castle, which obliged him to come to an anchor. Upon enquiring the reason of this extraordinary conduct, the commanding officer under the duke de Cadaval, who was the governor, said, "that he had orders not to suffer

suffer any ship of war, or merchantman, to pass the Bar." It was now necessary to send an express to Lisbon, to procure an exemption for the fleet of the allies from the general embargo; in consequence of which it could not proceed until the next morning. A secret disposition to thwart the measures of the allies, was the true reason why the general restriction was so absurdly extended to them whom it was meant to serve: at the same time ships were suffered to pass, by whom the Spaniards are supposed to have been informed of the destination of the combined fleet. So effectual were French intrigues at the court of Portugal! On the 27th, Sir John Leake reached Cape St. Vincent, and proceeding eastwardly to Cape St. Mary's, he spread out his fleet, so as to intercept the galleons, should they quit the harbour of Cadiz before he could reach it. The same night the Dutch vice-admiral Wassenaer sent advice, that the galleons had sailed the day before their arrival. So that by the impediment which had been thrown in the way of the fleet's quitting the Tagus, the opportunity was lost for intercepting the wealth of Spain. Two Spanish ships were taken, the masters of whom acknowledged, that the galleons had sailed in consequence of secret intelligence received from Lisbon*.

After thus missing of their prey, opposing winds retarded the arrival of Sir John Leake at Gibraltar until the middle of March, when he received an account of the perilous situation of the Spanish monarch Charles III. in Barcelona.

To understand the present posture of affairs in Catalonia, it will be necessary to give a sketch of the

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 690.

transactions which had taken place in those parts, in which the interests of this Austrian claimant to the crown of Spain were involved. No sooner was Barcelona, and with it Catalonia, reduced the last year, than the active spirit of the earl of Peterborough led him to attempt the reduction of the kingdom of Valencia to the allegiance of Charles; leaving therefore the king in the city of Barcelona, he proceeded, with the greatest part of the troops, on this expedition, in the midst of winter. On the side of Portugal, the English and Portuguese took the field early in the spring: their army amounted to forty thousand men, which was commanded by the earl of Galway, and the marquis de Las-Minas. These generals entered Estramadura, took Alcantara, forced Ciudad-Rodrigo, Salamanca, and the post of Espinar, in the kingdom of Leon. The French and Spaniards, in the mean time, were projecting the destruction of king Charles's affairs at a blow, Philip V. caused a numerous body of troops, commanded by marshal Tessé, to march against Barcelona, where his rival then was, with a weak garrison, and ill prepared in every other respect for a vigorous defence; while the count de Thoulouse blocked up the harbour with all the naval force of France. The earl of Peterborough hereupon hastened to the relief of the place, which was invested by sea and land the beginning of March; so that he found it impracticable to enter the city. He nevertheless maintained his post upon the hills, and with amazing courage and activity, kept the besiegers in continual alarm.

The earl, in passing from Barcelona to Genoa, to negotiate some affairs, in the Resolution, a seventy gun ship, commanded by his youngest son, captain Mordaunt, in company with the envoy from Charles III. to the duke of Savoy, fell in with

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six large French ships. Peterborough and the envoy immediately went on board a small frigate which accompanied the ship, and thereby happily escaped to Oneglia, while captain Mordaunt sat sail to escape the enemy, but finding that impossible, and having received considerable damage in the engagement, he ran the ship ashore, under the cannon of the castle of Vintimiglia, belonging to the Genoese, who gave him no assistance. The captain was soon after disabled by a shot in his thigh, and carried on shore; the French commodore then manned all the boats of his squadron, in order to board the *Resolution*, under a continued fire of one of their seventy gun ships. The English, however, defended their ship with great bravery, and drove back all the boats. The next morning a French eighty gun ship brought too under the *Resolution*'s stern, which raked her terribly; and no possibility of escape being left, the captain, with the concurrence of all his officers, directed her to be set on fire, after all the men were safely got on shore.

Sir John Leake having been joined by six English, and as many Dutch men of war, in the beginning of April, set sail for the relief of Barcelona, with thirty sail of the line, having received a letter from Charles, entreating his immediate assistance. †

On

* Burchet's Naval History.

† The style and contents of king Charles's letter to Sir John Leake, are so singular, that they certainly deserve the reader's notice.

THE KING.

Y^{IC}

“ Admiral LEAKE,

“ I am disposed to take upon me this occasion to advise you the high risk this principality and my royal person is found in; for I make no doubt before to-morrow the enemy will molest us. They have already blockaded me with a squadron, and their army is now almost in sight of this city, and by their quick marches have obtained some posts, which,

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On the 18th day of April he arrived at Altea Bay, where he was joined by Sir George Byng and commodore Walker. On the 26th the earl of Peterborough came on board the fleet, and hoisted the union flag, as admiral and commander in chief. By the contrivance of Sir George Byng a considerable body of troops had been thrown into the town; and no sooner did the whole fleet appear, than the count de Thoulouse quitted his station, and made the best of his way to Toulon. In three days, after his departure, marshal de Tessé raised the siege in the utmost confusion, leaving his sick and wounded behind him, and a letter recommending them to the humanity of the earl of Peterborough; he left behind him a train of one hundred and six pieces of brass cannon, forty-seven mortars, two thousand bombs, ten thousand grenades, forty thousand cannon shot, five hundred barrels of musquet shot, five thousand barrels of powder, eight thousand swords, eighteen thousand sacks of corn, besides flour, rye, and oats in great abundance. It is hard to account for this precipitate retreat, and still more hard to assign a reason why such quantities of military stores,

if they might have been prevented, would very much have hindered their designs.

"I am resolved, although I find myself with such a small garrison, (as a thousand men of regular troops, and four hundred horse) not to leave this place; for, in the present conjuncture, I have considered, that my going hence will be the loss of the city, and consequently of all the other places which the happy success of the last campaign hath reduced to my obedience; for which reason, it is my opinion to risk all, and venture the casualties that a siege is incident to, putting just trust and confidence in your known zeal towards the great forwarding the common cause, making no doubt, how much you have contributed towards the succours forwardness. I hope, in a few days, you will appear before this place, where your known valour and activity may meet with a glorious success, for which I shall again constitute you the credit of my royal gratitude.

"Given at Barcelona, the 31st of March, 1706.

"I the K I N G.

"By command of the king my master,

"HENRY DE GUNTER."

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and provisions should have been left undestroyed. It has been supposed to have been occasioned by a superstitious terror which had seized the Spanish troops, upon an almost total eclipse of the sun, which happened on the 12th day of May, and overspread the country with a sudden darkness*. Thus was Charles rescued from impending ruin, by the sudden and powerful interposition of the fleet.

Nothing now remained to impede the operations at sea; Alicant was soon reduced by Sir George Byng†; Carthagena submitted; and, in the month of September, the islands of Ivica and Majorca were attacked; the possession thereof being found extremely necessary to the allies, both on account of the harbours which they presented for the safe retreat of their shipping, and because they were capable of furnishing provisions for the towns which had been subjected to king Charles.

Sir John Leake appeared before Ivica on the 9th day of September. This island, which is about fourscore miles in circuit, abounds with corn, wine, fruit, salt; and the inhabitants being a trading people, were rather inclined to submit to the allies, than to remain under their old government; and therefore, on the first summons, they sent deputies to make their submission, which was readily accepted, and king Charles III. proclaimed. On the 13th the fleet sailed for Majorca, and arrived on the 14th before Palma its capital. This island, one of the finest in the world, abounded with all the necessaries of life, well planted and well peopled, and so large as to be once accounted a kingdom, was, at this time, governed by the Conde de Alcudia, who was a native of the place. He was warmly in the interest of king Philip, and when the admiral sum-

* Hist. d'Espagne, Tom. II.

† June 1706.

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moned him, sent him a Spanish answer, "that he would defend the island as long as there was a man in it." But upon throwing three or four bombs into the place, which did no great mischief, the inhabitants rose, and forced the viceroy to surrender. He shewed his wisdom, however, where he could not shew his courage, by making a very prudent capitulation. Sir John Leake left a garrison in Porto-Rico, and two men of war to carry off the Conde, and such other of the inhabitants as were disaffected to king Charles; and on the 23^d of the same month, he prosecuted his voyage for England. Before his departure, he received a letter from his Catholic majesty, who very gratefully acknowledged the services he had done him, and expressed the highest satisfaction as to his conduct on all occasions. On the 2^d of October Sir John passed the Straits, and on the 4th, when he was off the South Cape, detached Sir George Byng, with the winter squadron, for Lisbon. On the 17th he arrived safe at St. Helena, having been separated in a storm from the rest of the fleet, which came soon after into Portsmouth. And thus ended as successful a sea-campaign as is recorded in our own, or perhaps in any other history.

Meanwhile the earl of Galway prosecuted his successes on the western side of Spain so effectually, that he penetrated even to the city of Madrid. Philip was thereupon obliged to abandon his capital, and remove his court to Burgos. The English and the Portuguese entered the city in triumph; and to complete the misfortunes of the Bourbon king of Spain, he, at the same time, received an account of the defection of Cartagena, and the activity of the combined fleet in the Mediterranean. But for the

* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. III. p. 442.

unaccountable errors committed by the conquerors, the Spanish crown would have been for ever transferred from the house of Bourbon. Intoxicated by success, they wasted that time which should have been employed in vigorous exertions, in riot and debauchery. At length Philip, roused to activity by the desperate state of his affairs, drew together a large army, at the head of which he marched to recover his capital. Galway and Las-Minas were now in their turn forced to retire. Having joined Charles, *their* king of Spain, they passed with him into the kingdom of Valencia; and disposed their quarters in such a manner as to cover the kingdoms of Arragon and Catalonia, as well as to open an uninterrupted communication with Castile. The duke of Berwick, however, hung close on their retreat; and before the end of the campaign, retook Carthagena.

The army of the Imperialists under prince Eugene, by long and painful marches, arrived to the succour of Turin, in the first week in September, then besieged by a French army. The prince having joined the duke of Savoy, resolved to attack the enemy. The duke of Orleans, and the marshal de Marlin, who commanded the French army, had strongly fortified themselves with entrenchments, which extended all the way between the Doria and the Stura, at the junction of which rivers the city of Turin stands. Though the enemy had made little impression on the works, yet the garrison began to be in great danger, through the want of ammunition. The prince, having made his dispositions for the attack, fell suddenly on the intrenchments of the enemy; and after an obstinate contest of two hours, forced their camp, drove them before him, made himself master of their cannon, mortars, heavy baggage, ammunition, and military trophies. The duke

duke of Orleans was wounded in this action, and marshal de Marfin was killed. The fugitives instead of retiring to Casal, which would have enabled them to maintain a footing in the Milanese, retreated the contrary way towards Pignerol. In the space of four hours Modena, Mantua, Milan, Piedmont, together with the kingdom of Naples, were lost to the house of Bourbon. From this important event the operations in the Mediterranean the next year took their direction.

In Flanders the duke of Marlborough had early commenced the campaign, and brought an army of eighty thousand men into the field, and still expected reinforcements from Denmark and Prussia. The court of France was resolved to attack him before this junction. Villeroy, who commanded an army consisting of eighty thousand men, near Tirlémont, had orders to engage*. He accordingly drew up his forces for an attack; his right was flanked by the river Meuse, his left was posted behind a marsh, and the village of Ramillies lay in the centre. Marlborough, who saw all the consequences of this disposition, drew up his army accordingly. He knew that the enemy's left could not pass the marsh, to attack him, but at a great disadvantage; he therefore weakened his troops on that quarter, and thundered on the centre with superior numbers. The French stood but a short time, and, at length, gave way on all sides. The horse abandoned their foot, and were so closely pursued, that almost all were cut in pieces. Six thousand men were taken prisoners, and about eight thousand were killed or wounded. This victory was almost as signal as that of Blenheim. Bavaria and Cologne were the fruits of the one, and all Brabant was gained by the other.

* 23d of May, N. S. 1706.

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During this action, the duke of Marlborough had well nigh been surrounded by the enemy, and was in the most imminent danger of being killed or taken prisoner, when a body of infantry coming up, restored him to safety. As he was mounting a horse in the heat of the action, a cannon ball took off the head of colonel Brienfield, his gentleman of the horse, while he held the duke's stirrup. Ostend was closely besieged, at the same time, that Sir Stafford Fairborne, vice-admiral of the red, having a squadron of men of war, bombarded the town from the sea with such effect, that the governor capitulated in ten days * †.

The operations of the war were so widely spread, that we are obliged to speak of them according to their locality, without strictly adhering to the precise order of time in which they took place. The naval transactions in the ocean were languid and inefficacious. A Frenchman, who had assumed the title and character of the marquis de Guiscard, had insinuated himself into the favour and confidence of Henry St. John, secretary of war, and formed the plan of an expedition to the coast of France. Such was the reliance placed on the intelligence which this adventurer communicated, that ten thousand land forces were put on board transports, the command of which was given to the earl of Rivers, a man of a profligate character, and venal principles, but personally brave ‡. Sir Cloudesley Shovel had the command of the fleet, which sailed from Ply-

* 29th of June, 1706.

† In this siege of Ostend, the duke of Marlborough gave signal proofs of his personal courage; for coming to make a visit to M. d'Auverquerque, he went into the trenches, where he staid a considerable time, and examined every thing very attentively, though the enemy who had slackened their fire before, renewed it with excessive violence, as soon as they knew, by the salute of the fleet, that his grace was come to the camp.

‡ Swift's notes on Macky, M. S. Macpherson's History of England, Vol. II. p. 347.

mouth on the 13th day of August. Next day they were forced into Torbay by contrary winds; and there they held a council of war to concert their operations, when they discovered that Guiscard's plan was altogether chimerical, or at least founded on such slight assurances and conjectures, as could not justify their carrying it into execution. An express was immediately dispatched to the Admiralty, informing them of the result of this council; at the same time advices were received from the earl of Galway, with an account of his retreat from Madrid to Valencia, and earnestly soliciting immediate and effectual succours. The destination of the grand armament was hereupon changed, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel was ordered to proceed directly for Lisbon, and there to take such farther measures as the state of the war in Spain should render necessary. Guiscard being set on shore, the fleet got under sail, and towards the latter end of October arrived at Lisbon. From thence the admiral sent colonel Worsley to Charles and the earl of Galway, in order to receive from the king himself and his general, a certain account of their affairs, and to settle the nature of the service which the fleet should perform. Before the return of this officer the king of Portugal died*, and was succeeded by John his eldest son, then eighteen years of age, who was even more than his father influenced by a ministry who maintained a private correspondence with the court of Versailles. Whilst the admiral continued here with his fleet, some ships which he had appointed to cruise, in sailing out of the harbour were fired at from the fort. Shovel greatly incensed at this outrage, complained to the ministry, who endeavoured to palliate the injury, by imputing

* 28th of November, 1706.

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such conduct to a mistake in the governor, who they said had orders to fire at and detain a Genoese ship, whose master was indebted to the king. But the admiral being certainly informed that this very ship was then lying before the walls of the city of Lisbon, he gave them to understand, in a manner which became one of his consequence so insulted, that if another gun was fired at any English ship, he would not stay for orders from his mistress, but take satisfaction from the mouth of his cannon*. This spirited declaration produced a very good effect, by procuring the English better treatment, although it could not be supposed to change the disposition of the Portuguese ministry.

One of the cruisers which had been sent from Lisbon was the *Romny*, a fifty gun ship, commanded by captain William Cony. He was joined by the *Milford* and *Fowey*, two fifth rate men of war, in Gibraltar bay, on the 12th day of December. Intelligence was received that a French ship of sixteen guns, having on board thirty pieces of brass cannon, which had been saved out of the ships which Sir John Leake ran ashore, that were commanded by M. de Pointis; then lay at anchor under the guns of Malaga. Captain Cony hereupon resolved to attack her; in proceeding thither, one of his ships was disabled, and the other was separated from him, which, however, did not discourage him from making the attempt, in which he was so successful as to cut her from her anchors, notwithstanding a continued fire was kept up from the batteries, and carried her safe into Gibraltar†. On the 26th day of the same month, he gave chase to another French ship, called the *Content*, that carried sixty-four guns. To escape the English,

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 729. Lediard's Naval History, p. 812, note.

† Burchet's Naval History, p. 730.

the captain ran his ship under the cannon of a small fort, about eight leagues west of Almeria. Captain Conly being now rejoined by the Milford and Fowey, anchored before him, and the three ships plied their guns very briskly for upwards of two hours, when the French ship took fire, and soon after blew up, by which a great part of her crew were destroyed. This ship had been detached by monsieur Villars, who was cruising with a squadron of French ships between Cape Palos and Cape de Gates, to escort the smaller vessel with the brass ordnance, that had been before cut out of Malaga harbour*. In the beginning of January this vigilant officer took another French ship, called the *Mercury*, of forty-two guns, which some merchants of France had fitted out as a privateer.

The power of Louis XIV. was now so weakened and broken on all sides, that he whom all Europe had formerly dreaded, now, in his old age, excited its pity. So much was his haughty spirit reduced by his misfortunes, that he employed the elector of Bavaria to write letters in his name to the duke of Marlborough and the deputies of the *States-général*, containing proposals for opening a congress. He had already tampered with the Dutch, in a memorial presented by the marquis D'Alegre; he likewise besought the pope to interpose in his behalf; he offered to cede either Spain and the West-Indies, or Milan, Naples, and Sicily, to king Charles: to give up a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands; and to indemnify the duke of Savoy for the ravages that had been committed in his dominions. Whilst he thus seriously desired peace, he did not neglect every means by which he could sow jealousies among the allies, and thereby shake the basis of their

* Butechet's Naval History, p. 730.

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union; and in this he was not unsuccessful. The court of Vienna was so much alarmed at the offers he had made, and the reports circulated by his emissaries, that the emperor resolved to make himself master of Naples, before the allies should have it in their power to close with the offers of France. This was the true motive of his concluding a treaty with Louis in the succeeding winter, by which the Milanese was entirely evacuated, and the French king left at liberty to employ those troops in making strong efforts against the confederates in Spain and the Netherlands. The Dutch, at the same time, were intoxicated with success; and their pensionary Heinsius was entirely influenced by the dulse of Marlborough, who found his account in the continuance of the war, as it made him more a sovereign than the queen his mistress, brought him every year a fresh accession of glory, and what was to him equally dear, an immense revenue. During the whole war, the allies never had such an opportunity as they now enjoyed, to bridle the power of France effectually, and to secure the liberties of Europe. They had now lost sight of the motives which led them to enter into the war; for had they aimed at no more than to establish an equal balance between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, it could not have been better effected, than by dividing the Spanish monarchy between these two potentates. The accession of Spain, with all its appendages to either, would have destroyed the equilibrium which the allies proposed to settle. The confederacy were therefore led to continue the war from less noble considerations: the powers leagued against Louis were now fired with the ambition of making conquests, and England in particular, thought herself entitled to an indemnification, for the immense sums she had expended. The queen of England, and the States

States of Holland, therefore, rejected the offers of France, declaring, that they would not enter into any negotiation for peace, but in concert with their allies*.

The parliament having met at Westminster on the 3d day of December, the house of commons voted, that same day, "the thanks of the house to be given to the duke of Marlborough, for his eminent services to her majesty, and this kingdom, in the great and glorious victories and successes obtained over the common enemy, in the last campaign," which was accordingly presented by a committee the next day. And his grace going down to the house of lords soon after, the lord-keeper, by direction of their lordships, gave him the thanks of that house likewise, in a very handsome speech. The commons then proceeded with such unanimity to grant the supplies, that an ample provision was made, in the space of eighteen days, for the service of the succeeding year. They voted near six millions for the service of the year 1707 †. The passing the accounts of the expenditure of the public money, during the last year, occasioned some animadversion. It appeared, that the extraordinary supplies for the support of king Charles of Spain, amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds more than the sums provided by parliament. Some members argued, that very ill consequences might ensue, if a ministry were allowed thus to subject the nation to a debt, which the parliament were expected to discharge. To exculpate the ministry it was pleaded, that the expence was incurred to improve advantages, at a time when the occasion could not be communicated to parliament: so that the ministry were rather to be applauded for their zeal,

* Smollet's History of England, Vol. IX. p. 428.

† 5,893,381*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.*

than

than condemned for their profusion; nevertheless, if it appeared, upon closely inspecting the accounts, that any part of the money had been lavished away unnecessarily, or ill applied, it became the house to seek out and punish the delinquents. When the sense of the house came to be taken on this matter, the majority * voted, that those extraordinaries had arisen, in consequence of the attention paid to the preservation of the duke of Savoy, in maintaining the interest of king Charles against the common enemy, and for the safety and honour of the nation. When the speaker presented the money-bills, he told her majesty, that as the glorious victory at Ramillies was obtained by the duke of Marlborough, before the armies were supposed to have taken the field, so the commons had granted the supplies for the ensuing year, before the enemy could be apprized that the parliament was sitting. The two houses then proceeded to testify the sense they had of the duke of Marlborough's services, by more solid proofs than a vote of thanks; a bill was passed to perpetuate his titles to his posterity in the female line, in failure of male heirs; and the queen having before granted his grace five thousand pounds a year during her life, the parliament continued it to his family forever.

Provision being thus made for the continuance of the war, the parliamentary ratification of the treaty of union with Scotland, which treaty had been executed by the commissioners appointed by both kingdoms, on the 22d day of July 1706, was next brought under discussion. The articles which composed this famous compact were twenty-five in number: they stipulated, that the two kingdoms of England and Scotland should, from thenceforth

* Two hundred and fifty to one hundred and fifty.

be

be united, under the title of Great-Britain; that the succession to the united kingdom of Great-Britain should be vested in the princess Sophia, and her heirs, according to the acts already passed in the parliament of England: that the united kingdom should be represented by one and the same parliament: that all the subjects of Great-Britain should enjoy an equal communication of privileges and advantages in trade and commerce; and that ships built in Scotland should be admitted under the act of navigation. The land-tax was adjusted in the following proportion, viz. that when England paid one million nine hundred and ninety-seven thousand seven hundred and sixty-three pounds eight shillings and four-pence halfpenny, Scotland should pay forty-eight thousand pounds, and so in proportion; and, as an equivalent for Scotland's being charged with the debts of England, there was granted to the former by the latter, the sum of three hundred and ninety-eight thousand eighty-five pounds ten shillings, to be applied to the discharge of the public debts of the kingdom of Scotland, the capital stock of the African and India Company, with interest at five per cent. and for the improvement of the manufactures and trade of that part of the island. It was also provided, that the monies and weights of Scotland, should be the same with those of England; the Scotch courts of justice were preserved, together with all hereditary offices, and the rights and privileges of the royal boroughs; the representatives of Scotland were fixed at sixteen peers, and forty-five commoners, which, though small in proportion to the English peers and commoners, yet was high in comparison of the share borne by Scotland, in the taxes; the rights and privileges of the rest of the peers were fully secured; so that, except sitting in the house, they were

were to enjoy all the privileges of the peerage; and, all the laws of either kingdom, inconsistent with the union, were declared null and void*.

The Scotch parliament had already ratified the union, notwithstanding it occasioned a very alarming ferment among the people. On the 28th day of January 1707, the queen, in person, informed her parliament thereof. When the commons formed themselves into a committee of the whole house, to deliberate on the articles of the union, and the Scottish act of ratification, the Tory party, which was very weak in that assembly, began to start objections: Sir John Packington disapproved of this incorporating union, which he compared to a marriage without the woman's consent. He said, it was an union brought about by corruption and bribery within doors, by compulsion and force without; he said, the promoters of it in Scotland had basely betrayed their trust, in giving up their ancient free constitution; and he hoped it would forcibly strike every member in that house, that such men were unfit to be incorporated into the body of representatives. He observed, that the queen, by her coronation oath, obliged herself to maintain the church of England, as by law established; and was likewise bound, by the same oath, to defend the presbyterian kirk of Scotland, in one and the same kingdom. Now, (continued he) after this union is in force, who shall administer such oath to our future sovereigns? It is not the business of

* The advantages on the side of Scotland were such, as enabled those who supported the union, to say many strong things in its favour; for whereas, when England paid two millions by way of land-tax, Scotland was to pay but forty-eight thousand pounds; yet, in return for bearing not so much as a fortieth part of the expence, they had the eleventh part of the legislature given them; and the event has shewn, that the power of their members in a British parliament, is not so inconsiderable as the enemies of that treaty represented it to be.

the Scotch, who, by this treaty, are incapacitated from doing it, and no well-wishers to the church of England: it must therefore devolve upon the bishops to do it; and can it be supposed, that these reverend persons are capable of acting a part so unbecoming their station and functions, as thus to help forward the establishment of the presbyterian church government in the united kingdom? He added, that the church of England being established *jure divino*, and the Scots pretending that the kirk was also *jure divino*, he could not see how it was possible for two nations to unite, whose sentiments clashed in so essential a point. He therefore thought it advisable, to take the opinion of the convocation on so profound a piece of casuistry.—Such were the paltry subterfuges of narrow-minded bigots! A motion was made, that the first article of the treaty, which implies a peremptory agreement to an incorporated union, should be postponed, and that the house should proceed to the consideration of the terms of the intended union, contained in the other articles: but this being rejected, some Tory members quitted the house, and all the articles were read and approved without farther opposition.

In the house of lords a very warm opposition was meditated. Previous to this business the archbishop of Canterbury brought in a bill for the security of the church of England, which was designed to form the basis on which the treaty of union should rest. Both houses passed it unanimously, whereupon it immediately received the royal assent. On the 15th day of February, the treaty of union began to be debated in the house of lords, the queen being present; and Burnet, bishop of Sarum, was chosen chairman of the committee. The wisdom of Sir Simon Harcourt, afterwards viscount Harcourt, and lord-chancellor, quashed the opposition which was intended

intended to have been made there; he drew the act in such a manner, that it would admit of no debate, but upon the general question, whether it should, or should not pass. It was carried through that house by a majority of fifty-five to twenty-nine. In the house of commons there were two hundred and seventy-four to one hundred and sixty; and on the 6th of March the queen came, and gave her royal assent; upon which occasion her majesty delivered herself thus: "I consider this union, as a matter of the greatest importance, to the wealth, strength, and safety of the whole island; and at the same time, as a work of so much difficulty and nicety in its own nature, that, till now, all attempts which have been made towards it, in the course of above one hundred years, have proved ineffectual; and therefore, I make no doubt, but it will be remembered and spoke of hereafter, to the honour of those who have been instrumental in bringing it to such a happy conclusion. I desire, and expect from all my subjects, of both nations, that from henceforth, they act with all possible respect and kindness to one another, that so it may appear to all the world, they have hearts disposed to become one people; this will be a great pleasure to me, and will make us all quickly sensible of the good effects of this union. And I cannot but look upon it as a particular happiness, that in my reign, so full a provision is made for the peace and quiet of my people, and for the security of our religion, by so firm an establishment of the protestant succession throughout Great-Britain."

In the course of this session the commons, in an address to the queen, desired she would re-settle the island of St. Christopher's and Nevis, in the West-Indies, which had been ravaged by the enemy. They likewise resolved, that an humble address

should be presented to her majesty, praying, she would concert measures for suppressing a body of pyrates, who had made a settlement on the Island of Madagascar; as also for recovering and preserving the ancient possessions, trade, and fishery in Newfoundland. The French refugees likewise delivered a petition to the queen, recapitulating the benefits which the persecuted protestants in France had reaped from the assistance of her royal progenitors, acknowledging their own happiness in living under her gentle government, among a people by whom they had been so kindly entertained, when driven from their native country; and imploring her majesty's interposition and good offices in favour of their distressed and persecuted brethren abroad. This address was graciously received, her majesty declaring, she had always great compassion for the unhappy circumstances of the protestants in France: that she would communicate her thoughts on this subject to her allies, and she expressed her hope that such measures might be taken, as should effectually answer the intent of their petition*.

The proposals of peace offered by France, having been rejected by the allies, Louis XIV. found himself obliged to make all possible preparations for continuing, with some vigour, the war. The uncommon misfortunes of the last campaign had embarrassed his councils, and thrown his kingdom into the utmost distress and consternation. He endeavoured, in these circumstances, to support the credit of his government, by issuing mint-bills, in imitation of the exchequer-bills of England, to the amount of seventy millions of livres †; but in refusing to take these bills in payment of the revenue, he threw them into such discredit, that after all

* Smollet's History of England, Vol. IX. p. 447.

† 3,062,500*l.* sterling.

expedients

expedients to raise their value had been tried, they remained at the discount of fifty-three per cent. The lands in France now lay uncultivated; the manufactures could be no longer carried on; and the people were perishing with famine. The allies, on the other hand, had possessed themselves of the greatest part of the Netherlands, in consequence of the victory of Ramillies: the army of king Charles was considerably reinforced; and a scheme was formed for the conquest of Toulon, by the troops of the emperor and the duke of Savoy; for which purpose a large sum of money was advanced by queen Anne, and the combined fleets of England and Holland, under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, were preparing to act in conjunction with the forces by land against this important arsenal. To avert the destruction that seemed impending over France, the French king extended a line of militia along the coast of the ocean, and the shore of the Mediterranean. He found means to collect together an army in Flanders, the command of which was entrusted to the duke of Vendome; another under marshal Villars was formed near Strasbourg: a body of men rendezvoused in Navarre; and another in Roussillon; and reinforcements were sent to the army, commanded by the duke of Berwick in Spain. The first operation of the year was propitious to the interests of Philip V. Majorca was retaken by the count de Villars, on the 5th day of January 1707, whilst the distractions in the councils of king Charles fatally impeded every measure. The earl of Peterborough had now withdrawn to Italy; he, however, strongly recommended making the attack upon Toulon the sole object, whilst Charles was determined to attempt the recovery of Madrid; which measure the earl opposed, alledging, what was afterwards fatally experienced, that

that subsistence for the army could not be drawn from those parts. The kingdoms of Catalonia, Arragon, and Valencia, now acknowledged Charles the Third for their sovereign; the earl of Galway, and the marquis Las Minas, therefore, resolved to penetrate, with the combined army, composed of English, Dutch, and Portuguese troops, into New-Castile. Having passed the river Xucar, they advanced to Almanza, where the duke of Berwick opposed their farther progress, with an army that greatly outnumbered that of the confederates, which already began to suffer so much from the want of provisions, that it was necessary to engage the enemy under very great disadvantages; accordingly, on the 14th day of April, the earl of Galway, with about sixteen thousand men, attacked the duke of Berwick at the head of twenty-four thousand men, eight thousand of whom were horse and dragoons. The battle began about two in the afternoon, and extended from wing to wing. The English and Dutch infantry were at first victorious, and twice penetrated the centre of the enemy; but the Portuguese foot giving way, and Berwick's cavalry having, at the same time, thrown that of the allies into disorder, the intrepid infantry, which if they had been well supported would have decided the fortune of the day, were now dreadfully flanked by the enemy, who soon began to assail them on all sides. Exhausted with fatigue, their ammunition spent, and abandoned by the rest of the army, they were at length obliged to surrender prisoners of war. Ten thousand men were either killed or taken on this fatal day. All the cannon, standards, colours, equipage, and baggage of the vanquished, fell into the hands of the enemy. Las-Minas escaped to Xativa, with some cavalry. The earl of Galway, with a party of horse, taking the route towards

towards Catalonia, arrived at Tortosa, near the mouth of the Ebro. The city of Valencia surrendered to the conquerors, and soon after the whole kingdom, together with that of Arragon, were reduced under the dominion of Philip V. The arrival of a strong squadron, under the command of Sir George Byng, afforded great relief to the miserable remains of the confederate army.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel arrived on the 20th day of May, with the rest of the grand fleet. Although the army in Spain was now almost annihilated, yet the duke of Savoy was at the head of a respectable body of troops in Piedmont; and the emperor had engaged to furnish an army, the command of which was to be given to prince Eugene, whose antipathy towards the French king, at whose court he had been educated, and from whom he had ineffectually sought promotion, animated him to the fullest exertion of his extraordinary talents, in humbling the house of Bourbon. A design against Toulon had been projected between the duke of Savoy and the earl of Peterborough; but when the credit of that nobleman declined, the prince caused his minister at the court of London, to renew the scheme with the duke of Marlborough. This design was calculated totally to ruin the French naval power at one stroke; and had the confederates united their strength to crush the enemy, without being drawn aside by separate interests, and impeded by mutual jealousies, there is little reason to doubt that it would have been accomplished. But the different powers that were leagued against France had, by this time, formed private views of advantage, so which they sacrificed the common cause. The Dutch aimed not only at possessing all Flanders, but at establishing a lucrative trade with the kingdom of Spain. In this latter object, they saw with dis-
pleasure

pleasure the English likely to supplant them. They were unwilling to admit that the English who had given energy to every operation of the war, by supplying money, men, and ships, with an unsparing hand, had a right to reap the benefits arising from the contest, this temper therefore rendered them indifferent to the reduction of Toulon, for they saw that in proportion as it distressed their enemy, it aggrandized their rival. The emperor too found his particular interests point another way. The possessing himself of the kingdom of Naples was so valuable a prize, that every other consideration gave way to it. He had no maritime interests himself, and was indifferent to the advancement of them for his friends and benefactors. The duke of Savoy had no important interests staked upon the issue of the war; his troops were paid by the English nation, and he led them against Louis XIV. whose son had married one of his daughters, and against Philip V. who had married another.

The first ill omen that foreboded the miscarriage of this design against Toulon, was, the emperor resolving to employ twelve thousand of his troops in the conquest of the kingdom of Naples. It was in vain that the English ambassador at the court of Vienna represented the important services which had been rendered to that prince and his family by the English nation, the vast importance of the undertaking against Toulon to the common cause, and the certainty of his acquiring Naples after the expedition was over; he was inflexible; but the design was not on that account laid aside. On the 5th day of June the fleet came to an anchor before Finale: it consisted of forty-three ships of the line, and fifty-seven transports. Prince Eugene went thither to confer with the admiral, and soon after the fleet sailed for Nice, where a council of war was held,

held, in which it was resolved, to force a passage over the Var, although the French considered their works upon that river as impregnable. Sir John Norris was appointed to conduct this daring enterprise. He sailed with four British, and one Dutch man of war, to the mouth of the river, and embarking six hundred seamen and marines in open boats, entered it, and advanced within musquet-shot of the enemies works, and kept up such an incessant fire, that the French could not withstand. Their cavalry first gave way, and their foot soon after began to quit their entrenchments. Sir Cloudesley Shovel arriving at the place of action, and seeing the disorder into which the enemy was thrown, ordered Norris to land with the seamen and marines, in order to flank the enemy. This service was performed with so much conduct, and the men advanced with such valour and resolution, that the French fled in confusion from their works, which were immediately occupied by the English, and a free passage opened for the duke of Savoy and his army, who crossed the river half an hour after, without any opposition, where he expected to have found a most obstinate one*. Upon this gallant exploit the army marched to Toulon without molestation: it consisted of thirty thousand men; the artillery and ammunition were conveyed on board the fleet, which hereupon sailed for the isles of Hyeres. The army appeared before Toulon on the 15th day of July, having spent eleven days in marching over about ninety miles. This inroad into the kingdom of France, from a quarter where it was thought invulnerable, threw the French into the utmost consternation. Toulon was in a very weak state of defence, nor was any considerable

† Lediard's Naval History, p. 819.

body of troops in that part of the country ; no less than forty-four large men of war were then in port, having on board upwards of three thousand guns * ; besides these were twenty-five frigates, fire-ships, and other vessels, all which were in imminent danger of being destroyed. The allies took possession of the eminences that commanded the city, and the ordnance being landed, they erected batteries, from whence they began to cannonade and bombard the city, while the fleet attacked and reduced two forts at the entrance of the mole, and cooperated in the siege with their great guns and bomb-ketches. The garrison defended the place with vigour. They had used incredible activity in strengthening the fortifications ; they sunk ships in the entrance of the harbour, and kept up a brisk fire from their ramparts ; they made desperate sallies, and even drove the besiegers from the heights of St. Catharine, with great slaughter. The French were indefatigable in marching troops from all parts of the kingdom into Provence. To increase the embarrassment of the allies the generals disagreed ; the prince of Savoy sent orders to prince Eugene to possess himself of mount St. Ann, which he refused to attempt, the emperor having given him secret instructions not to expose his troops. The duke of Savoy, sensible of the growing strength of the enemy, and being informed of the preparations that were making to cut off his retreat, resolved to abandon the enterprize. No sooner was this step determined upon, than the artillery were re-embarked, together with the sick and wounded : the whole army struck their tents, and decamped in the night ; and with more expedition than it had advanced, retreated to Piedmont.

* London Gazette, No. 4357.

The very day the army began to march, the fleet drew as near the place as possible, and five bomb-vessels, supported by the light frigates, and all the boats of the men of war, under the command of rear-admiral Dilkes, advanced into the creek of fort St. Lewis, and notwithstanding a prodigious fire from the place, bombarded the town and harbour, from noon till five the next morning, and this with all the success that could be expected. By this means the army had time to quit their camp, which they did in five columns, without annoyance, the enemy being too much engaged to pursue them, and as to any attempts afterwards, his royal highness prevented them by marching, in two days, as far as in his approach to the place he had marched in six. This end had the famous siege of Toulon, from whence the confederates hoped, and the French feared so much. If the duke of Savoy had arrived a week sooner he had carried his point; and if marshal Tessé, who was sent into Provence, had acted with skill and dispatch, his royal highness had returned without an army*. Notwithstanding the miscarriage of this enterprize, it proved of great service to the allies, and produced such happy consequences, as ought perhaps to balance the expence of it; for besides the great damage the French sustained in their shipping, the burning and destroying of eight of their capital ships, the blowing up several magazines, the burning of above one hundred and sixty houses in Toulon, and the devastations committed in Provence by both armies, to the value of thirty millions of French livres, this enterprize (which struck a greater terror throughout all France, than had been known there during the whole reign of Louis XIV.) brought this further

* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 29

advantage to the common cause; that it gave a great diversion to the enemies' forces, whereby their army in Germany was weakened; the duke of Orleans's progress after the battle of Almanza, retarded in Spain; the succouring of Naples prevented; and the conquests of the allies in Italy secured. The duke of Savoy was no sooner returned, than he invested the important fortress of Suza, which surrendered at discretion, on the 24th of September, and thereby gave him an open passage into Dauphine, at the same time that it enabled him to shut the French effectually out of his own dominions*.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel having left a Squadron of thirteen sail for the Mediterranean service, set sail for England with the rest of the fleet. Having touched at Gibraltar, he proceeded for England, and arrived at the mouth of the Channel. He found himself in soundings on the 23d day of October, having a very brisk gale at south-south-west; but hazy weather. About eight o'clock at night his own ship, the *Association*, struck upon the rocks of Scilly, called the Bishop and his Clerks. Sir George Byng was then less than half a mile to windward of him; he saw the signals of danger that were made from the admiral's ship, which in two minutes time disappeared, and every person on board perished. The same fate befel the *Eagle*, captain Robert Hancock, of seventy guns, and the *Romney*, captain William Cony, of fifty guns. The *Firebrand* fire-ship was likewise lost; but captain Piercy, who commanded her, and twenty-four men, saved themselves in the boat. The *Phoenix* fire-ship, commanded by captain Sanson, was driven ashore, but was fortunately got off again. The

* Burchett's *Naval History*, *Complete History of Europe for 1707*, Burnet, Oldmixon, *Annals of Queen Anne*, &c.

Royal Anne, in which Sir George Byng bore his flag, was saved by the presence of mind of the officers and men, who set her top-sails, when she was within a ship's length of the rocks. Sir John Norris, and the lord Dursley, with very great difficulty disentangled themselves from the threatening fate; besides whom several others ran no small hazard among these dangerous little islands. Thus perished the great English admiral Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with all his officers, and about nine hundred sailors. The admiral's body being cast ashore, was stripped and buried in the sand; but afterwards discovered and brought into Plymouth, from whence it was conveyed to London, and interred in Westminster-Abbey. It is unnecessary to say more of him in this place, as we shall close this chapter with memoirs of his life*.

This year was fatal to England in the loss of her naval commanders. Rear-admiral Dilkes, who had been left in the Mediterranean, proceeded to Leghorn, where he arrived on the 19th day of November. Here he was informed of the bad posture of Charles's affairs in Spain; the duke of Orleans, who was at the head of Philip's army, had made himself master of Lerida; whilst Torsosa and Tarragona were in great danger of falling into his hands; and unless timely succour was brought, the whole province of Catalonia was likely to be wrested from the Austrian claimant of the crown of Spain. When Sir Thomas Dilkes came into the road of Leghorn, he demanded a salute of seventeen guns, which being refused him, he wrote to the English envoy at the grand duke's court, who, on stating this complaint, was answered by the secretary of state, that the castle of Leghorn never gave the

* Burchett's Naval History, p. 733. Lediard's Naval History, p. 817.

first salute to any flag under the degree of a vice-admiral; and as to the number of guns demanded, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, though admiral of the fleet of Great-Britain, was content with eleven, and returned the same number. Soon after this the rear-admiral died of a fever, after some days' illness, says Burchet*; but Dr. Campbell says, that his disease was caused by an Italian dinner†; and he adds, the court of Tuscany was all along manifestly partial to the French, and the salute which Dilkes required, was founded on some extraordinary civilities that had been paid to French flags. The seamen always looked upon the admiral as a martyr for the honour of his country‡.

Upon the death of rear-admiral Dilkes, the command devolved on captain Jasper Hickes, who was the next senior officer, and who sailed from Leghorn to the coast of Genoa, where embarking his troops at Vado, a little town to the westward of Savona, he escorted them safely to Spain, and then proceeded, with his squadron, to Lisbon, where he received orders to refit, and wait the arrival of Sir John Leake, who was sent out from England with the title of admiral, and commander in chief.

At the time our fleets were every where superior to those of the enemy, our trade suffered in almost all parts of the world, by the small squadrons of men of war, as well as privateers, which issued out of the French ports. Sir Thomas Hardy, at this time, commanded in the Channel. In the month of July he had orders to convey the trade from the port of London to Lisbon. When he was about one hundred leagues from the Lizard, six French men of war appeared in sight, which he gave chase to; they proved to be a squadron com-

* Naval History, p. 336.
 † Idem, note.

‡ Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV.

manded

manded by Du Gue Trouin. Night coming on a council was called, in which fourteen captains gave it as their opinion, that the admiral should give over the chace, and bear away to protect the Lisbon fleet. For this conduct he was afterwards brought to a court-martial, who honourably acquitted him of all blame: and though the admiral's conduct was afterwards scrutinized very closely by higher tribunals, yet no imputation fell upon him; he therefore continued to be employed, and acquitted himself with honour*.

Whilst the French were sending out ships to pick up prizes from Brest, another small fleet, under the command of monsieur Fourbin, was equipped at Dunkirk, and employed in making depredations on the English shipping to the eastward. Towards the latter end of April 1707, a fleet of merchantmen, consisting of fifty-five sail, outward bound, had a convoy appointed them of three men of war, viz. the Royal Oak, of seventy-six guns, captain Baron Wylde, commander and commodore; the Grafton, of seventy guns, captain Edward Aston;

* The president of this court-martial, was Sir John Leake, knight, vice-admiral of the white. It was held on board her majesty's ship the Albemarle, October 10, 1707, in Portsmouth Harbour; and the captains who, with the president, signed his acquittal, were, Howden Walker, Henry Lumley, Stephen Martin, T. Meade, Henry Gore, Charles Stewart, J. Paul. After this, the proceedings were laid before the queen in council, where all was heard over again, but nothing appeared which could any way impeach the honour of Sir Thomas Hardy, or the officers who acquitted him; however, to oblige the merchants, the sentence was transmitted to the admiralty, and there it was examined before his royal highness the lord high-admiral, and the following flag-officers; Admiral Churchill, Sir Stafford Fairborne, Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, Sir John Norris, and Sir James Wisheart, who all approved the sentence of the court-martial, and gave their opinion under their hands. One would have imagined, that here the thing must have ended, but it did not; for as soon as the house of commons sat, a motion was made, that Sir Thomas Hardy should attend; which he did, and gave so clear an account of his conduct, that the very members who had promised to support this complaint, desired it might be dismissed.—*Dr. Campbell.*

and

and the *Hampton-Court*, of seventy guns, captain George Clements. This fleet, in proceeding from the Downs, was attacked by the Dunkirk squadron, consisting of ten men of war, a frigate, and four privateers. The commodore drew five of the stoutest merchant-ships into the line, and fought bravely for two hours and a half, being about six leagues to the westward of Beachy. Many officers and men were killed on both sides, and the ships very much shattered in their hulls, masts, and rigging. Captain Acton, of the *Grafton*, was killed in the action; and captain Clements received a wound, of which he afterwards died. These two ships were at length obliged to strike. Captain Wilde finding those ships in the enemy's possession, and having eleven feet water in his hold, made the best shift he could to save his ship, by running her ashore to the eastward of Dungeness; whilst the engagement continued with the men of war, the lightest of the enemy's frigates, and their privateers, took twenty-two merchantmen*, which they carried, together with two men of war, into Dunkirk†. In this engagement, the conduct of a midshipman on board the *Hampton-Court*, was very remarkable. While the enemy was employed in plundering the ship, he conveyed captain Clements, who was mortally wounded in the belly, through a port-hole into the long-boat, into which himself, and seven sailors, crept by the same means, where they continued to conceal themselves from the notice of the enemy.

* Forbin's account; others say eighteen. † *Histoire Militaire*, Tom. V. p. 68. P. Daniel, p. 244. Forbin's *Memoirs*. In some of these relations, the number of prisoners is computed at eleven hundred, and the value of the prizes at five million livres, that is two hundred and eighteen thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds sterling; which is a little incredible, considering they took so few ships; but as the French had nothing to console them for their mighty losses, but these little advantages at sea, we need not at all wonder, that they took so much pains to magnify them.—*Dr. Campbell*.

When

When an opportunity offered, they fell to their oars, which they plied so manfully, that they reached the harbour of Rye the next day. Three days after the action, commodore Wylde had so far repaired the damage of his ship, that he brought her safe into the Downs*.

All the French relations of this disastrous affair do us the justice to own; that our captains behaved extremely well, and that their victory cost them very dear. The French king promoted M. Forbin† for this gallant service, to the rank of Chef d'Escadre ‡, and gave him likewise the title of count. Mr. Burchet censures the manner in which this fight was maintained on the side of the English, and thinks the misfortune that befel them arose from their being drawn into a close line, and lying by to receive the enemy; had they, on the contrary, he says, kept constantly under sail, and fought in that manner, the elevation of the ships, and their weight of metal, would have enabled them to have done more execution †.

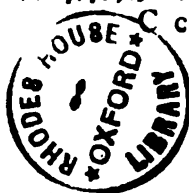
This affair raised a great commotion in the nation; and the merchants laid the whole blame upon the admiralty-council, who, they said, ought to have informed the commodore of the sailing of the Dunkirk Squadron, for the doing of which ample time intervened.

The manner in which the trading vessels of England were made prize of by the French cruizers, might well draw forth complaints from the merchants; and indeed, the interests of that useful and respectable body of men, were shamefully slighted by the council of admiralty, who suffered the two French partisans, Forbin and Gue Troyin, to ride triumphant in the British seas, whilst our formidable

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 718.

† Naval History, p. 739.

‡ Commander of a squadron.



naval force was making conquests in the Mediterranean, for a prince so destitute of the talents requisite for governing, that he lost, by his own incapacity, whatever was procured him by the bravery of his allies. In the month of July fifteen merchantmen, from the port of London to Archangel, being nearly one-third of the fleet, were taken on their voyage thither by Forbin, on the coast of Lapland, in the latitude of 69 deg. 40 min. The French computed the value of the goods taken, at one million two hundred thousand livres, or fifty-two thousand five hundred pounds sterling. The account published in England was extremely embarrassed and obscure. Admiral Whetstone commanded the convoy, whose conduct, in this business, was much complained of. The private intelligence which had been given the French, was supposed to have enabled them to proceed so successfully against our fleets.

On the return of the Dunkirk Squadron, Count Forbin received orders to join that which had been fitted out at Brest, under the command of Trouin, which he accordingly did on the 31st day of October. Thus united, their force consisted of twelve ships, which were of the French navy, but employed on the account of private adventurers; one of seventy-two guns, others sixty and fifty; and none carried fewer than forty guns.

In the latter end of August, there was a great fleet ready for Lisbon, having on board provisions, military stores, and upwards of a thousand horses, for the king of Portugal's service. The merchants were extremely uneasy about a convoy: they observed, that so many ships had been taken in the voyage to Portugal, that it not only affected the

commerce, but the reputation of this kingdom, and obliged the Portuguese to send their orders for corn, even against their will, into Holland; for this reason they earnestly intreated, that such a convoy might be given them, upon this occasion, as might secure so great a fleet, (for there were no fewer than one hundred and thirty merchantmen) and thereby recover our credit at Lisbon; and, in consequence of it, our corn trade, which had been in a great measure diverted for the two last years. These representations were by no means pleasing to the admiralty, where admiral Churchill, the duke's brother, commonly expressed the sense of his royal highness's council, and thereby drew on himself the merchants' displeasure in the highest degree. He told them, upon this occasion, that they should be furnished with as speedy and strong a convoy, as could possibly be provided for them; yet this convoy was not ready to sail until the 24th of September. It consisted of the Cumberland, captain Richard Edwards, of eighty guns; the Devonshire, of the same force; the Royal Oak, of seventy-six, lately spoken of; the Chester and Ruby, each of fifty guns. The Chester and Ruby were indeed the convoy, for the other three ships were only to see the fleet fifty leagues beyond Scilly. The fleet did not sail till the 9th of October, and on the 10th, they fell in with the joint fleet of counts Forbin and M. du Gue Trouin, off the Lizard. The convoy disposed themselves in a line of battle, and thereby gave the merchants' ships an opportunity of escaping. M. du Gue attacked the Cumberland, about twelve at noon, and with the assistance of two other ships, after an obstinate dispute, carried her; the Devonshire defended herself, for a long time, against seven, and till evening, against five French ships; but then, by some accident, which will remain for ever unknown,

known, took fire, and blew up; two only, out of nine hundred men, escaped; the Royal Oak made a vigorous resistance, and having set the French ship which attacked her, and was commanded by M. de Bearnois, on fire, got safe into Kinsale harbour; the count de Forbin took the Chester; and messieurs de Courserat and de Nesmond took the Ruby. As for the Lisbon fleet, they very prudently saved themselves during the engagement; but the French made a prodigious boasting of the men of war they had taken, though the dispute was so very unequal. Mr. Burchet censures the manner in which this fight was maintained, upon the same principle on which he blamed the former one; our ships were of such force, that had they kept together under sail, they would have made a very formidable battery; but the French ships, being many more in number, had opportunities of attacking each of them singly, with three or four of their ships at one time.

At the close of the year captain Haddock, of the Ludlow-Castle, fell in with two French frigates, the Nightingale and Squirrel, formerly the queen's ships, but now fitted out from Dunkirk as privateers, each of them having on board as many men as the English man of war. They both lay by, till he came within gun-shot of them; but then made sail from him before the wind. At eleven o'clock at night he came up with the Nightingale, which immediately struck, but the other escaped. The captain of the Nightingale was an English renegado, who had formerly commanded a sloop in the queen's service, and having been tried by a court-martial, for irregular practices, was broke*; a lieutenant, a midshipman, and a sailor, natives

* Lediard's Naval History, p. 325.

of England, were taken on board the ship, together with an Irish priest: all these captain Haddock sent up prisoners to London, where they were tried for high-treason.

On the side of Germany, the affairs of the confederates wore a gloomy aspect. The usual sluggishness and backwardness of the princes, almost subjected the empire to the same misfortunes from which it had been relieved by the battle of Blenheim. The continuance of the insurrection in Hungary, combined with the habitual inactivity of the court of Vienna, had rendered the efforts of the house of Austria extremely languid on the Upper Rhine. The margrave of Bareith, who succeeded to the command of the Imperialists, upon the death of the prince of Baden, led an army inconsiderable in point of numbers, and ill provided with necessaries for the field. The French army, under marshal Villars, having passed the Rhine at Strasbourg, forced the lines at Stollhoffen, laid the duchy of Wirtemberg under contribution, entered Swabia, and penetrated to the Danube. But when Villars was meditating measures which might change the whole face of the war, he was forced to weaken his army by great detachments into France itself, which we have seen attacked within its limits, by the allies. Towards the end of the campaign, the elector of Hanover took the command of the army of the empire; and count Mercy having surprized the marquis de Vivant at Offenbourg, Villars was forced to abandon all his great schemes, and to re-pass the Rhine.

The invasion of the French was not the only evil which the emperor and empire had now to fear. The king of Sweden having remained, during the winter, in Saxony, found very plausible pretences for a quarrel with the court of Vienna. He complained

plained of an insult committed by count Zabor, chamberlain to his Imperial majesty, on the baron Strahlenheim, the Swedish envoy. Though all reasonable satisfaction was given by the emperor, the king of Sweden, with an obstinacy suitable to his character, increased his complaints, and multiplied his demands. He peremptorily required, that five hundred Russians, to whom the court of Vienna had given refuge in the Austrian dominions, should be delivered into his hands. He insisted, that the protestants of Silesia should be indulged with the free exercise of their religion, according to the treaty of Westphalia. That his Imperial majesty should relinquish all pretensions to the quota, which the king of Sweden had neglected to furnish, according to the tenure by which he held his dominions in Germany; and that the whole Swedish army, in their return through Silesia and Poland, should be maintained at the charge of the court of Vienna*.

The emperor Joseph was in no condition to refuse a compliance with these arbitrary mandates; but the queen of England, and the States, were alarmed, lest German pride should sacrifice the interests of the allies to a new quarrel. The court of London therefore resolved upon sending the duke of Marlborough to soothe the king of Sweden, to gain over his ministers, and penetrate into their real designs. In the month of April his grace set out from the Hague for Leipsic, with a letter from queen Anne to king Charles XII. of Sweden: in his way he consulted the elector of Hanover, about the sums to be given, as annual pensions, to the counts Piper and Hermelin, who conducted the affairs of the Swedish monarch. The elector advised, that two

* Hist. de Suède, 1707.

thousand

thousand pounds sterling should be secured for the first, and one thousand for the latter, and that one year's pension should be paid in advance*. The duke arrived at Alt-Ranstadt, where the king of Sweden held his head quarters. He found this original character not simple but fardid in his appearance and economy, savage in his deportment, ferocious, illiterate, stubborn, implacable, and reserved. The English negotiator assailed him on the side of his vanity, the only part by which he was accessible. "Sire, (said he) I present to your majesty a letter, not from the chancery, but from the heart of the queen my mistress, and written with her own hand. Had not her sex prevented her from taking so long a journey, she would have crossed the sea to have had an interview with a prince admired by the whole universe. I esteem myself happy in having the honour of assuring your majesty of my regard; and I should think it a great happiness, if my affairs would allow me to learn, under so great a general as your majesty, what I want to know in the art of war." Charles was pleased with this overstrained compliment, which seemed to have been calculated for a raw unintelligent barbarian, unacquainted with the characters of mankind. He professed particular veneration for queen Anne, as well as for the person of her ambassador, and declared he would take no steps to the prejudice of the grand alliance †. The duke's behaviour to count Piper deserves to be related, as it serves very strongly to evince the justness of the character which we have elsewhere given of this great statesman Marlborough. When the duke arrived in his coach at the quarters of count Piper, of whom he had demanded an audience, he was given to understand that the

* *Discover Papers in Macpherson's State Papers, Vol. III. p. 381*
 † *Smollet's History of England, Vol. IX. p. 456.*

count was busy, whereupon he waited half an hour before the Swedish minister came down to receive him. When he appeared at last, the duke alighted from his coach, put on his hat, passed the count without saluting him, and went aside to the wall, where having staid some time, he returned, and accosted him with the most polite address.

In Flanders nothing of importance happened during the campaign. The French, under the duke de Vendome, prudently avoided an action, and they guarded their motions so well, that they furnished the enemy with no opportunity of attacking them with advantage.

The campaign of the year 1707, though in some degree favourable to the house of Bourbon, scarce suspended their misfortunes. The conquest of Naples balanced the benefits derived from the victory obtained at Almanza; and the siege of Toulon, though unsuccessful, on the part of the allies, was extremely detrimental to France. The enemy in their march, and retreat through Provence, ruined a great extent of country. The attempt defeated the project of the allies on the side of Germany, by dividing her forces. Villars having penetrated to the Danube, was forced to repass the Rhine, and to relinquish to an enemy, who could not meet him before in the field, all the advantages of a campaign, that seemed to threaten to change the whole face of affairs. A degree of mortification was added to the misfortunes of the court of Versailles. The duke of Savoy, whose capital was besieged, by a French army in the preceding campaign, was at the head of a powerful invasion in the dominions of France, in the present year. But the conduct of the court of France was now as feeble as her misfortunes were numerous. The Salique law seemed to have been made in vain, in a country destined to be governed

governed and ruined by women. Madame de Maintenon, though advanced in years, maintained her influence over the superannuated mind of the king. Flattery to an aged mistress, became a better title than merit, to the command of armies; and thus the folly of his own councils became as fatal to Louis, as the arms of the confederates*.

Before we close this chapter, it will be proper to speak of the events which took place in the West-Indies. When Graydon returned from his ineffectual expedition thither†, Sir William Whetstone was appointed to that command. He sailed from St. Helens in March 1705, with one third rate, four fourth rate, and two fifth rate men of war. He arrived at Jamaica in May, and some time after sailed for the Spanish coast, where he took a French ship which mounted forty-six guns; having on board one hundred and fifty men, which were all that remained alive of three hundred and seventy, with which she sailed. He afterwards fell in with two French privateers, one of which he forced ashore, whereupon the crew set her on fire; the other escaped. A violent storm soon after forced the admiral to return to Jamaica with his squadron, only leaving the Montague, a sixty gun ship, to cruise on the coast of Hispaniola, where she met with two French ships, one of forty-eight, the other of thirty-six guns, which the captain of the Montague gallantly bore down upon and engaged. In the night the Frenchmen disappeared, but the next morning they were again in sight. The captain immediately gave orders to renew the combat, but his officers and seamen expressing a great dislike for the business, he was obliged to desist. Mr. Burchet has not given us the name of this brave officer, for which he is

* Macpherson's History of England, Vol. II. p. 372.
page 106.

† See

really censurable. When the captain returned to Jamaica, he complained to his admiral that his orders had been disobeyed by his officers and the crew: a court-martial was thereupon appointed, when it fully appearing that the captain had done his duty to the utmost of his power, he was honourably acquitted; but his officers were broke, and many of his seamen punished. As soon as the Montague arrived, Whetstone sent out the Bristol and Folkestone in search of these French ships, who fell in with them and their convoy, but they contented themselves with making prize of some of the merchantmen, for having no stomach for fighting, they suffered the two men of war, and a great part of the fleet which they escorted, to escape, although absolutely in their power. For this shameful breach of duty, captain Anderson, the senior officer, was tried, broke, and declared unfit for service.

Whilst admiral Whetstone was detained for want of stores at Jamaica, the Suffolk, a seventy gun ship, on board of which the admiral had hoisted his flag, blew up in the gun-room; most of the men who were in that part were killed, and seventy more in their hammocks were so much burnt, that the greatest part died. Had the ports been open when this accident happened, the ship would, most probably, have been totally destroyed*; but the damage it sustained was repaired, and she afterwards returned to England.

The French had great advantages over the English in these parts, from the assistance which the Spanish harbours and settlements afforded them; from whence they drew a ready supply of whatever they stood in need of; they therefore resolved to attempt the reduction of the English Leeward Islands; for

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 699.

which

which purpose Iberville, the governor of St. Domingo, fitted out a small squadron of French men of war, the command of which was given to count de Chevagnac, who sailed in the month of March 1706, and made a descent on the island of St. Christopher, which his troops plundered with great fury: they were stopped in their career by the castle, which made a vigorous defence, and at length the invaders were obliged to reembark. Iberville having now joined Chevagnac with several more ships, they proceeded to Nevis, where the inhabitants capitulated. Soon after commodore Ker arrived from England with a considerable force, and having stationed several of his ships according to his instructions, he bore away with the rest for Jamaica, which was then thought to be in danger from the junction of Iberville's squadron with some ships commanded by Du Cassé.

In the mean time rear-admiral Whetstone sailed with a few ships from Jamaica, in hopes of attacking Du Cassé, before he was joined by the succours he expected. But this design being defeated by bad weather, he returned to Jamaica about the middle of July, and towards the latter end of the same month was joined by commodore Ker, with the squadron under his command. There being now so considerable a force, the admiral was very desirous that something should be attempted capable of blotting out the memory of past mistakes, and worthy of the British nation. After mature deliberation, it was resolved to proceed to Carthagena, where they knew the galleons were, in order to try what effects king Charles's letters would produce, and whether the governor might not be wrought upon by our successes in Europe, to own him for his rightful sovereign in America. With this view Sir William Whetstone and captain Ker sailed from

Jamaica on the 8th. of August, and on the 18th. arrived before Carthagena, and sent in a packet to the governor. But this produced no good effect; he declared, that he knew no other prince, than Philip V. and that no other he would obey. There were at that time in the port fourteen galleons, lying close in with the city, and unrigged. The admiral was for attempting to burn them; but the pilots declared, that any such design would be found impracticable, unless we were first in possession of Bocca Chica castle, and the other forts, and even in that case it was very doubtful whether ships of so great a size as theirs could get in*. Then it was taken into consideration what farther service might be done, and the result of this was, a resolution to return to Jamaica; from whence, as soon as the trade was ready, the rear-admiral was to convoy them home, and commodore Ker to remain behind, in order to take upon him the command of the force left in the West-Indies. This scheme was immediately put in execution, and, upon their return, Sir William made all possible dispatch, in order to get home in time; and, accordingly, leaving the island, the latter end of October, he arrived at Plymouth, on the 23d of December 1706, with the *Suffolk*, *Bristol*, *Reserve*, and *Vulcan* fire-ship, and a fleet of merchantmen under his convoy.

From the dastardly behaviour of some officers, one might be led to think, that there was some secret property in the atmosphere of the West-Indies, which reduced the natural spirit and bravery of Englishmen; for though the command of the fleet on that station was held by a succession of bold commanders, yet the misconduct of their inferior officers rendered the efforts made in that part of the world,

* Burcher's Naval History. Ledlard's Naval History. British Empire in America.

to annoy the French and Spaniards, continually ineffectual.

The chief command now devolved on commodore Ker, whose designs were as well laid, and their issue as fruitless as those of his predecessors. One of them was an attack upon port Louis, another on the Petit Guavas, but neither took effect. After this Sir John Jennings was dispatched thither, but his command stands as little dignified by any important event as the others.

In North-America the French were more successfully attacked in the year 1707. Captain John Underdown, commander of her majesty's ship the Falkland, having received advice, on the 25th day of July, that the enemy had several ships employed in the Newfoundland fishery, he proceeded from the harbour of St. John's, having with him the Nonsuch and the Medway. These three ships sailed to the bay of Blanche, and arrived off the harbour of Fleur-de-lis, where the commodore sent in his own pinnace, and that belonging to the Nonsuch: on board of the first was major Lloyd, who went on this expedition as a volunteer; and the lieutenant of the Falkland on board the other. They found several stages and other necessaries for the fishery, which they destroyed, and then returned to the ships. The next day they made prize of a ship from St. Maloes, of three hundred and sixty tons, thirty guns, and one hundred and ten men, called the Duke of Orleans. Another ship of twenty guns, and eighty men, belonging to St. Maloes, was likewise taken; two other ships, one of thirty-two guns, and the other of twenty-six, from the same port, were attacked, but their crews abandoning them, set them on fire, and escaped on shore. Off the harbour of St. Julian they discovered another ship, hauled quite up to the shore. All the boats

boats being manned, on the 6th day of August the enemy was driven from their posts, and the ship was taken possession of. The squadron then proceeded to Carouze; in the way thither they looked into Petit Maistre, where they destroyed great numbers of boats and stages, with vast quantities of fish and oil. The damage the enemy sustained by this expedition was, two ships brought away, a third taken but burnt, two more burnt by the French; two hundred and twenty-eight fishing-boats burnt; four hundred and seventy boats and shallows, twenty-three stages, twenty-three train-vats, all burnt; seventy-seven thousand two hundred and eighty quintals of fish destroyed; together with fifteen hundred and sixty-eight hogheads of train oil. — Let us now take a view of the proceedings at home.

The first parliament of Great-Britain met at Westminster, on the 23d day of October, without any new election for England; when the queen, in her speech to both houses, palliated the miscarriages in Provence and in Spain, represented the necessity of making farther efforts against the common enemy, and exhorted them to be upon their guard against those who endeavoured to sow jealousies in the nation. The commons, in their address, expressed the continuance of their former zeal and devotion to her majesty's government; but in the house of lords, the earl of Wharton expatiated upon the scarcity of money, the decay of trade, and the mismanagement of the navy. He was seconded by the lord Somers, and the leaders of the Tory party, who proposed, that previous to every measure, they should consider the state of the nation. It was affirmed, "that the lord high-admiral's name was abused by such as were entrusted with the management of his authority; that the council of his royal highness

highness studied nothing but how to render their places profitable to themselves and their creatures, though at the expence of the nation; that it was visible, their own haughtiness, together with the treachery, corruption, and carelessness of their dependents, were the true sources of those mischiefs which befel our merchants, and discredited the most glorious reign in the British annals. But though reason and experience ought to have convinced these men of their own incapacity, yet they had, with a brutish obstinacy, persisted in the pursuit of their own measures, haughtily rejecting the advice of the merchants, when offered in time, and saucily contemning their complaints, when sufferers by the very errors they had predicted." This occasioned the appointment of a committee, to examine into this matter. The house received a petition from the sheriffs of London, signed by two hundred of the most eminent merchants of the city, setting forth the great losses they had sustained at sea, through the want of proper convoys and cruisers, and praying that some remedy might be applied, that the trade of the nation might not be entirely destroyed: these complaints were fully proved by witnesses. The design of Wharton and Somers was to raise the earl of Orford, once more, to the head of the admiralty; and the Tories, who did not perceive their drift, hoped, in the course of the enquiry, to fix the blame of all mismanagement upon the Whig ministers. The report which the committee made to the house was sent to the lord high-admiral, who answered each article separately. Then the Tories moved for an address, in which the blame of the miscarriages might be laid on the ministry and cabinet-council; but the motion was overruled, and the queen was presented with the bare representation of facts, and desired that she would

would take the proper measures for preventing such evils for the future*. The house of commons made some progress into an enquiry of the same nature, and brought in a bill for the better securing the trade of the kingdom. They cheerfully granted the supplies for the service of the ensuing year. Both lords and commons concurred in carrying to the throne, such complaints as seemed to be well founded; and with this view their lordships, on the 7th day of February, addressed the queen to lay aside captain Ker †; and on the 26th day of the same

* Smollet's History of England, Vol. IX. p. 467.

† The house of lords, in their address, informed her majesty, that a complaint had been lodged before them, by Mr. Thomas Wood, in behalf of himself, and divers other Jamaica merchants, against captain William Ker, late commander of a Squadron of her majesty's ships at that island, for refusing to grant convoys for their ships to the Spanish coast of America; and, in particular, that the said Mr. Thomas Wood had offered to the said captain Ker, the sum of six hundred pounds as a gratuity, if he would order one of her majesty's men of war, under his command, to go as convoy to the Neptune sloop, and Martha galley, laden with woollen, and other goods of her majesty's subjects. That the said captain Ker, at that time, seemed pleased with the proposal, and said, the Windsor should be the ship, and ordered Mr. Wood to make what dispatch he could, in getting the galley and sloop ready. On which encouragement he got them ready to sail, and bought three hundred negroes to put on board them, and then acquainted captain Ker therewith, and with the great charge he was at in maintaining the negroes, and his fear of sickness. Captain Ker then said, he feared he could not spare a man of war; but the next day sent Mr. Tudor Trevor, captain of the Windsor, to acquaint Mr. Wood, that captain Ker said, he thought Mr. Wood could not have offered less than two thousand, or at least fifteen hundred pounds. Whereupon Mr. Wood declared, the sum was so great, that the trade could not bear it, and so the sloop and galley proceeded on the voyage without convoy; and in their return the sloop, loaded with great wealth, being pursued by French privateers, and having no convoy, and crowding too much sail, to get from the enemy, was unhappily overset and lost. The said Mr. Thomas Wood also made another complaint, that upon a farther application to the said Mr. Ker, for a convoy for three sloops, bound for the said Spanish coasts, he promised to give the Experiment man of war, commanded by captain Bowler, as a convoy; for which the said Mr. Wood agreed to give eight hundred pounds; four hundred pounds; part whereof was paid the said Bowler, and the other four hundred pounds was made payable by note to one Mr. Herbert, for the use of Mr. Ker, which note was sent in a letter to Mr. Ker, and by him put into Mr. Herbert's hands. And, besides that, as a further encouragement

same month, the house of commons presented an address of the same nature, against the same person*.

At this period secretary Harley's character incurred suspicion from the treachery of Gregg, a clerk in his office, who was detected in carrying on a correspondence with M. Chamillard, the French king's minister. This affair made much noise, and great discoveries were expected to follow. Gregg was indicted at the Old Bailey, found guilty, and executed as a traitor. In a paper which he delivered to the sheriff at his execution, he acknowledged his guilt, and declared, that he had no accessaries in his treason, and that Mr. Secretary Harley was entirely ignorant of his practices.

It may not be improper to remark in this place, the quantity of gold and silver coin of all sorts, which, in consequence of the union, was brought into the Mint of Edinburgh, to be re-coined into the pieces and denominations of sterling money; the amount of which was four hundred-and eleven thousand one hundred and seventeen pounds ten shillings and nine-pence, as brought into the Mint:

ment for allowing the said convoy, Mr. Ker had an adventure of fifteen hundred pounds in the said sloop, without advancing any money. To this complaint Mr. Ker put in his answer, and both parties were fully heard by themselves, and their witnesses; and upon the whole matter, the house came to the following resolution, that the said complaint of the said Mr. Wood, against the said captain Ker, as well as in relation to the Neptune and Martha galley, as also in relation to the other three sloops, that went under the convoy of the Experiment man of war, hath been fully made out, and proved to the satisfaction of this house.

The queen gave only a general answer to this address, but did not say positively that she would comply with it.

* On the 16th of February, upon the report of Sir Richard Onslow, from the committee of the whole house, the commons came to three resolutions against commodore Ker; to which they added a fourth, viz. "That an humble address be presented to her majesty, laying before her the said resolutions, and humbly desiring, that her majesty will be pleased not to employ the said captain Ker in her majesty's service for the future." This address having been presented to the queen, ten days after her majesty declared, that she would comply with it.

neither is it improbable that as much more might have been hoarded up, by the whimsical, disaffected, and timorous, who were strongly prepossessed against the union, and were far from believing it would long continue. The current coin of Scotland was also, at this time, exported to foreign parts, and no inconsiderable quantity melted by the silversmiths into various kinds of plate; so that a judicious author conjectures, that the gold and silver coin in Scotland might amount to nine hundred thousand pounds sterling*.

By a list of the royal navy, published this year, it appears to have been as follows:

Rates.	Number.	
1	7	130 of the line of battle.
2	14	
3	45	
4	64	
5	40	75 for cruising.
6	26	
Fire-ships	9	79 small craft.
Yachts	16	
Bomb-vessels	9	
Store-ships	2	
Sloops	9	
Advice-boat	1	
Brigantines	3	
Ketches	2	
Hulks	15	
Hoys	22	

In all 284 †

* Ruddiman's Preface to Anderson's *Thesaurus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiz*, p. 84, 85. † Lediard's *Naval History*, p. 226.

MEMOIRS of Sir RALPH DELAVAL, *Knt.*

THIS naval officer was descended from a family in the north of England, whose political principles led them, and particularly the father of our admiral, Mr. Ralph Delaval, to espouse the cause of king Charles I. and his son Charles II. After the memorable battle of Worcester, general Leslie was permitted by Cromwell to retire to Mr. Ralph Delaval's house. His son, who bore the same christian name as the father, went into the navy when he was very young, and was distinguished by the patronage of the duke of York, who appointed him to the command of the *York*, a third-rate man of war; and at the time of the revolution his ship lay at Portsmouth. However he might esteem and respect king James the Second, he seems not to have approved of those measures which lost him his crown; for when king William the Third received the sovereignty from the people, captain Delaval was not only continued in the command of his ship, but soon after promoted by his majesty to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue; who, at the same time, conferred on him the honour of knighthood. Soon after this promotion, Sir Ralph Delaval served under the earl of Torrington, in the famous battle which was fought off Beachy-head, on the coast of Sussex, on the 30th day of July 1690. In this unfortunate affair our admiral's reputation remained unimpeached, either as to courage or conduct. A stronger proof of the propriety of his behaviour could not be given, than his being appointed president of the court-martial which tried the commander in chief, which was held on board the *Kent*, on the 10th day of December following. As the popular

clamour ran high against the earl, the honourable acquittal which he received was disrelished by many, and Sir Ralph Delaval probably did not escape censure on this occasion. King William, however, who had too elevated a mind to be offended at any one for differing in opinion from himself, presently after promoted him to be vice-admiral of the blue, in which station he served the next year under admiral Russel; and in the winter of the same year, he was appointed to command a Squadron in the Soundings, where being buffeted by contrary winds, he was frequently driven into Torbay; notwithstanding which he prevented the French sending succours to Limerick, and was thereby very conducive to the reduction of that important place, and consequently of the kingdom of Ireland, which followed soon after.

In 1692 he was appointed vice-admiral of the red, and received orders to cruise for a large fleet of English and Dutch merchantmen, expected to arrive from the Mediterranean. These he joined, and conducted them safely into port. It was well known, that the French were fitting out at Brest the most formidable fleet that kingdom had ever sent to sea; the combined fleets of England and Holland were laying at St. Helens, having received sailing orders from queen Mary. On the 15th day of May a council of flag-officers was called, wherein it was resolved to sail, with the first fair wind, for the coast of France. Sir Ralph Delaval, on this occasion, observed, that an intimation had been given him by the secretary of state, of reports having been spread, that several captains of the fleet had given assurances to king James's friends, of their readiness to join them, and of their confidence that they should be able to bring over a great part of the fleet. As it was of the utmost importance to remove
such

such suspicions, and as in such a general charge every individual was alike involved, the admiral proposed, that an address to the queen should be drawn up, expressive of the loyalty of the officers of her fleet. The proposal was immediately agreed to, and the following address was drawn up :

“ We, your majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects and servants, flag-officers and captains, in your majesty’s fleet, out of a deep and grateful sense of your majesty’s good and just opinion of our loyalty and fidelity, imparted to us by the right honourable admiral Russel, in a letter to him from the earl of Nottingham, principal secretary of state, do, in behalf of ourselves, and all the other officers and seamen, humbly presume to address ourselves to your majesty at this juncture, to undeceive the world, as to those false and malicious reports which have been lately spread in prejudice of your majesty’s service, by people disaffected to the government, and who have an aversion to the quiet and good of their country ; that there are some among us, who are not truly zealous for, and entirely devoted to the present happy establishment. We do, therefore, most humbly beg leave, to add to our repeated oaths, this assurance of our fidelity : that we will, with all imaginable alacrity and resolution, venture ourselves in the defence of the government, and of the religion and liberty of our country, against all popish invaders whatsoever. And that God Almighty may preserve your majesty’s most sacred person, direct your councils, and prosper your arms by sea and land, against your enemies ; may all people say amen, with your majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects. Dated on board the *Britannia*, at St. Helens, the 15th of May, 1692.”

This address was signed by Sir John Ashby, admiral of the blue ; Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral of the red ;

red; George Rooke, Esq; vice-admiral of the blue; Sir Cloudesley Shovel, rear-admiral of the red; and Richard Carter, Esq; rear-admiral of the blue; and all the captains of the fleet*.

In the glorious action near La Hogue, on the 19th, and four following days of May, Russel stationed Sir Ralph Delaval in the rear of the fleet, in which situation he did great service in dispersing the French ships, although he was not concerned in the most active part of the engagement. On the 4th day he burnt Tourville's own ship, the Royal Sun, of one hundred and four guns, together with the Conquerant of ninety, and the Admirable of eighty-four guns, and some frigates in Cherbourg. This was a very bold and dangerous undertaking; the admiral went himself with the boats belonging to his division, to sound the depth of water in the bay, and advanced within gun-shot of the French ships, which kept up a brisk fire upon them. As the great ships drew too much water to be of any service, the admiral hoisted his flag on board the St. Albans, and having ordered the Ruby, and two fire-ships, to attend him, he stood in for the enemy; but finding that the fire-ships could not be brought in, without being more effectually covered, and being greatly annoyed by the French men of war, he retreated, and the next morning went in with all his third and fourth-rates and fire-ships, into four fathom and a half of water, which being shoal for ships of that draught, he ordered three of the fire-ships to be prepared, and sent them in to destroy the French ships, going himself, with the barges and tenders, to take the men up, if, by the enemy's shot, they should be destroyed in advancing. The French kept up a hot fire both from their ships

* London Gazette, No. 2767.

and

and forts. Two of the fire-ships took effect, and set fire to the enemy's ships; the third took fire by a shot she received just before she got within reach. Two of the French men of war, and all the frigates, were destroyed by these means; the third being run ashore was fired upon by the St. Albans and Reserve, until they silenced her fire; the admiral then went on board her, with his boats, armed; where he found a number of men, and several of them wounded, but no officers; having taken them all out, he set her on fire, and thereby completed the destruction of the whole.

When the violence of party procured admiral Russel to be laid aside, the command of the fleet, as has been observed in its place *, was put into commission, and Henry Killegrew, Esq; Sir Ralph Delaval, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, Knights, were appointed joint-admirals of the fleet, which was reckoned one of the greatest the maritime powers ever put to sea; but the services which it performed were by no means adequate to the strength employed. Some have imputed the inactivity at sea to the secret good-will which two of the admirals, Killegrew and Delaval, bore to the interest of the abdicated king; others say, that the fleet was neither victualled nor manned, and that the instructions sent to the admirals, at different times, were contradictory and impracticable; and when the misfortune which befel the Levant fleet of merchantmen led the house of commons to enquire into the conduct of the navy during the summer of 1693, though they voted that there had been notorious and treacherous mismanagement, yet when the question was put for censuring the admirals who commanded in chief, it met with a negative; and

* Vol. II. p. 459.

bishop Burnet says, the orders which were sent from the cabinet-council were ill given, and worse executed. The result however was, that the admirals Killegrew and Delaval were laid aside.

From that time Sir Ralph Delaval lived privately, as a country gentleman, upon his own estate, which was very considerable, and disengaged himself entirely from public affairs. He died in the beginning of the month of January 1707, and on the 23d of the same month was buried with great solemnity in Westminster-Abbey. The violence of party-prejudice being then abated, he went to the grave with the reputation of a great and gallant officer, and of a generous, hospitable man; which he might very justly deserve, though he was so unfortunate as to pass nine years of his life in an obscure retirement, and that too in a season when his service might have been most useful to his country*.

* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 298.



Engraved for Hervey's Naval History.

Vol. III. page 225.



ST. CLOUDSLEY SHOVEL Kn^t.

The first Rear Admiral of Great Britain.

Shipwrecked 23.^d Oct. 1707. aged 57.

MEMOIRS of Sir CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL, *Knt.*
Rear-Admiral of England, &c.

ONE of the most incontrovertible advantages derived from a free constitution, is, the opportunity it affords for talents and abilities of every kind, to expand and display themselves. No obscurity of birth is a certain obstacle to the advancement of a man, who inherits the rich gifts of nature, which are frequently bestowed where fortune is least liberal. The brave man, of whom we are now to speak, derived no lustre from descent; his parents lived in the county of Suffolk; what was the employment of the father is not known, but it probably was not more respectable than that to which the son was destined, which is said to have been a shoe-maker. The name of Cloudesley was given him in compliment to a wealthy relation of that name; but it does not appear that any benefits accrued from that quarter. It is not likely, that one who became so eminent a seaman, should ever be disposed to stick to his last as a shoe-maker; young Cloudesley therefore presently left his master, and went to sea with Sir Christopher Myrns, whom he served as cabin-boy. Whilst he continued in this capacity, his natural disposition for nautical knowledge discovered itself; for he made such rapid advances in the science of navigation, that he soon became an able seaman. Such prompt abilities were to him instead of friends and recommendations. Sir John Narborough, whose merit had raised him to the highest honours of his profession, became the patron of this uncommon youth. When the last war with the republic of Holland terminated, by the peace of 1674, King Charles determined to

chastise the Tripoline pyrates, who had taken advantage of the condition of England during that war, and in violation of treaties, had plundered the English merchant-ships in the Mediterranean. Accordingly, Sir John Narborough was sent with a fleet to chastise these corsairs *. Mr. Shovel, who was now twenty-five years of age, was a lieutenant on board the admiral's ship. The fleet arrived before Tripoli in 1675, where their visit had been expected, and every precaution taken to render the place defensible. The appearance of the enemy's strength, joined to the nature of the admiral's instructions, which directed him to try negotiation rather than force, determined him to send a person in whom he could confide to the dey of Tripoli, with proposals for an accommodation, in which no more was required than satisfaction for the losses which had been sustained by the English, and a security that their ships should be unmolested for the future. The admiral entrusted Mr. Shovel with this message, who accordingly went on shore, and delivered it with great spirit. But the dey, despising his youth, treated him with much disrespect, and sent him back with an evasive answer. Mr. Shovel, on his return to the admiral, acquainted him with some remarks he had made ashore: Sir John sent him back with another message, and with proper rules for conducting his enquiries and observations. The dey treated this second message with great contempt; but Mr. Shovel patiently bore his arrogance, and by persevering in the object of his embassy excused himself for staying some time longer on shore. When he returned, he assured the admiral, that it was very practicable to burn the ships in the harbour, notwithstanding their lines and forts; ac-

* See Vol. II. p. 281.

cordingly,

cordingly, in the night of the 4th of March, lieutenant Shovel, with all the boats in the fleet, filled with combustible matter, went boldly into the harbour, and destroyed the enemy's ships, with a degree of success scarce to be conceived; of which Sir John Narborough gave so honourable an account in all his letters*, that the next year Mr. Shovel had the command of the *Sapphire* given him, a fifth-rate, from whence he was soon after removed into the *James* galley, a fourth-rate, in which he continued to the death of king Charles II.

Shovel gained no advancement during the short reign of king James the Second; he was not in favour with that prince. From the *James* galley he was removed to the *Dover*, a ship of the same rate; and when the prince of Orange sailed from Helvoetsduys, this ship was with Sir Roger Strickland †. As captain Shovel's political principles were known not to accord with the favourite notions of king James, he became the more acceptable to his successor. The first action in which captain Shovel was concerned after the revolution, was in that off Bantry-bay, on the south-west coast of Ireland, which was fought on the 1st day of May, 1689. He had been already promoted to the *Edgar*, a third-rate, and in her he gave signal marks of his courage and conduct on this occasion. Soon after, when the king visited Portsmouth, he conferred the honour of knighthood on captain Shovel. In the year 1691, king William appointed him rear-admiral of the blue; and to add to the honour which

* Sir John Narborough's letter to Sir Paul Rycaut: this hardy enterprise was not only highly honourable to the reputation of the English arms at sea, but of infinite consequence to our commerce; which remained, from this time forward, safe from the insults of these barbarous and thievish enemies, who were now convinced, that forts and lines were no securities against the courage of English seamen. † See Vol. II. p. 381.

he bestowed, his majesty, with his own hands, delivered him his commission.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel was this year chiefly employed in the Channel, and on the coast of Ireland. We have already related the assistance which he rendered general Kirk, whereby the castle of Duncannon was reduced*. The next year the king advanced him to the rank of rear-admiral of the red, and appointed him to command the squadron which was to convoy his majesty to Holland. This service performed, Sir Cloudesley Shovel joined the grand fleet under admiral Russel, and had a considerable share in the glory acquired by the grand victory at La Hogue†.

In the year 1693, Sir Cloudesley Shovel was named as one of the three admirals, to whom a commission was given for the joint command of the English fleet. The forming this triumvirate shewed the king's disposition to govern without regarding party distinctions; for Killegrew and Delaval were declared Tories, and Shovel was a staunch Whig. It does not appear, however, that any disagreement among the commanders obstructed the operations of the fleet: the reason of the inactivity, in which so great an armament lay during the whole summer, has been spoken to in the life of Sir Ralph Delaval; so that nothing need be said thereupon here. The Dutch, however, upon this occasion, played off their wit in a picture, where the taking of the Smyrna fleet was represented at a distance, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel on board his own ship, with his hands tied behind him, one end of the cord being held by each of his colleagues; to insinuate, that he would have prevented this misfortune, if the admirals Killegrew and Delaval had not hindered him.

* Vol. II. p. 411.

† Idem, p. 438.

But

But when the affair came to be enquired into in parliament, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, at the bar of the house, defended his colleagues, as well as himself, and gave so clear and plain an account of the matter, that it satisfied every body who were disposed to be satisfied, by strong and convincing testimony, of the integrity of the commanders; and if any treachery was practised in this business, as was with too much reason suspected, it must have proceeded from some employed in the admiralty-office, or in that of the secretary of state.

In this state of public affairs, when the losses sustained by the commercial part of the nation created a number of active malecontents; and when those, whose essential interests not being involved in the event, felt only for the national disgrace which was thereby incurred, and upon that principle became clamorous, the character of Sir Cloudesley Shovel remained quite unimpeached by either party.

The next year * he commanded as vice-admiral of the red, under lord Berkley, admiral of the blue, in the famous expedition to Camaret Bay, as has been related in our second volume †, as well as the unsuccessful attempt upon Dunkirk, which followed it. In this latter expedition Sir Cloudesley Shovel commanded in chief, and though the design miscarried, he was in no respect blamed, the imputation being thrown on M. Meefters, the inventor of those dreadful machines called infernals. Indeed, the admiral took care to demonstrate from his conduct, that there was no fault lay in him; for he went with a boat, within the enemy's works, and so became an eye-witness of the impossibility of doing what his orders directed; and, therefore, on

* 1694.

† Page 465.

his

his coming home, he was perfectly well received, and continued to be employed, as a man who would command success where it was possible, and omit nothing in his power where it was not so. He had his share in the remaining part of the war; and, after the peace of Ryswick, was always consulted by his majesty, whenever maritime affairs was under consideration.

Before the death of king William, Shovel was advanced to be admiral of the white; but when the crown devolved to queen Anne, he was too much a Whig to be well received at court; so that he remained unemployed until he was sent to Vigo after Sir George Rooke had taken the place, to bring home the spoils of the Spanish and French fleets, in the latter end of the year 1702; which he fully performed, and with surprising expedition.

From henceforth he began to be employed in a manner suitable to his rank, and the unfavourable prepossessions concerning him presently wore away. In the year 1703 he commanded the grand fleet in the Mediterranean, where, although his force was comparatively inconsiderable, and his strength less than from the number of his ships might be expected, for they were weakly manned, and worse victualled, yet he performed essential services, though not brilliant exploits. Bishop Burnet says, of this expedition, that every thing was so ill contrived by the ministry at home, that it seemed as if nothing was intended to have been done by it. When Shovel saw his instructions, he represented to the ministry, that it was in vain to expect any thing from such a plan of operations; however, he was ordered to go, and he obeyed.

The next year Sir George Rooke commanded in the Mediterranean, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel was sent, with a powerful squadron, to reinforce him, with

with which he joined the grand fleet on the 16th day of June: how instrumental he was in procuring the glorious advantages which followed thereupon, we have elsewhere related *. In the action off Malaga he commanded the van, and greatly distinguished himself by his forwardness to engage the enemy; much mischief he actually did them, and much more he endeavoured to do, but could not; which he mentions in his letter to the admiralty, with a modesty that does him great honour. The Whigs and Tories alike endeavoured to confer all the merit of this action, on that admiral which stood high in the favour of their party: with the one, Shovel had been the sole means of discomfiting the French; with the other, Rooke had done every thing. But these popular prejudices do not seem to have had any influence on the conduct of the two commanders towards each other, so as to occasion disgust and jealousy. Rooke indeed, justly displeased at the ungenerous requital which his services met with, threw up his employments; and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, on his return, was presented to the queen by prince George, as lord high-admiral of England, and was the next year employed as commander in chief, in conjunction with the earl of Peterborough; the operations of which glorious campaign have been already related (page 155 & seq. of this volume). Sir Cloudesley Shovel had no concern in the arts made use of to lessen the reputation of Sir George Rooke, in order to pave the way for laying him aside; but after this was done, and it became necessary to send both a fleet and army to Spain, no imputation could light on Sir Cloudesley for accepting the command jointly with the earl of Peterborough.

* Page 117 of this Volume.

In the year 1705 Sir Cloudesley again commanded the fleet; but it failed very late, so as not to reach the river of Lisbon till the month of November; and even when it arrived there, the disputes which arose amongst the lords of king Charles's council, and his generals, with the delays of the Portuguese, who were far from being hearty in his cause, disappointed all the great designs of the maritime powers, and the effects that might have been reasonably expected from the powerful reinforcement of troops which were embarked on board the grand fleet. In this uneasy situation, Sir Cloudesley Shovel did all that could be expected from a wise and vigilant commander; for he not only closely attended to the proper duties of his own charge, but left no method untried to prevail upon the generals and favourites of king Charles, to come to such an agreement, as might secure the advantages already obtained, and effectually fix their master, who was then at Madrid, upon the throne of Spain. But though the care and concern of the admiral had very little effect on this side, yet his representations in Portugal met with greater regard. It seems, that one of the young princes of the royal family, who was of a very wild temper, had committed some odd insults on the seamen, as they came ashore from the fleet and the forts, at the entrance of the river, and fired upon some of our men of war; upon which Sir Cloudesley made his representations to the ministry, and having received a very dissatisfactory answer, he immediately demanded a conference with a person of great distinction, who was then at the head of their councils, and told him plainly, that the seamen, so long as he bore the English flag, should maintain the strictest discipline while in the harbour of Portugal; and, therefore, he expected to receive those marks of friendship and respect, which were due to so great a prince.

princess as the queen his sovereign; or, in case of any failure, he should think himself obliged to do his seamen, and the honour of his country, right, and not suffer the English flag to be insulted, while he had the honour to bear it. This Sir Cloudesley expressed in such a manner, and seconded his words with so brisk a resentment, when the first-mentioned affront was next repeated, that the crown of Portugal thought fit to issue such orders as he desired; and things wore another face, in that part of the world, ever afterwards, which was entirely owing to the courage and conduct of Sir Cloudesley, who knew very well how to distinguish between the complaisance due to an ally, and that complying forbearance which is unworthy of an English admiral.

The last year in which our admiral bore the command, was not like that of his competitor for fame, Sir George Rooke, crowned with glorious success. He had wintered at Lisbon with the fleet, and was preparing to succour Alicant early in the spring, when he was stopped by orders from England. Afterwards the project was resumed, and the English and Dutch fleet sailed from Lisbon, with the land-forces on board, on the 7th day of January, and arrived at Alicant on the 18th. The admiral quitted Alicant with his fleet, on the 17th day of February, and returned to Lisbon to repair the ships. He next proceeded on the important expedition against Toulon, which, had it proved successful, would have given the maritime powers a perpetual ascendancy over France. On the 10th day of May he again sailed for Alicant, where having joined Sir George Byng, he proceeded for the coast of Italy, and in the latter end of the month of June came to an anchor between Nice and Antibes, where he waited the arrival of the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene. Here the admiral had the ho-

nour of entertaining these two illustrious princes, together with most of the general officers, as well as the English and Dutch ministers, on board his own ship, the Association; and though politeness was not his characteristic excellence, yet, on this occasion, he displayed a magnificent spirit. The duke, when he came on board, found a guard of halberdiers, in new liveries, at the great cabin door. At the upper end of the table was set an armed chair, with a crimson velvet canopy. The table consisted of sixty covers, and every thing was so well managed, that his royal highness could not forbear saying to the admiral at dinner, "If your excellency had paid me a visit at Turin, I could scarce have treated you so well."

The forcing the French lines on the river Var, which was performed entirely by English seamen, has been already spoken of. It ought to be acknowledged, that whatever there was of zeal and spirit in the prosecution of the design upon Toulon, it was imparted by Sir Cloudesley Shovel. He it was that proposed forcing the passage of the Var; he prevailed on the prince of Savoy to prosecute his march immediately thereupon; and as soon as the resolution was taken, the admiral sailed, with his fleet, for the isles of Hyeres, leaving ten or twelve frigates to interrupt the enemy's correspondence with Italy. On the 16th day of August, the fleet began to cannonade the town, and throw bombs in the night, which was continued until the siege was raised. These obliged the French to sink their capital ships, and thereby greatly to weaken their marine. As the duke of Savoy never would have attempted this enterprize without the help of the fleet, so he did nothing when before the town, but by the aid of the fleet, from whence he received all his military stores. The safety of his retreat was

was likewise owing to the fleet, which returned to the Var. There some new disputes happened, in which Sir Cloudesley had little or no concern. Her Britannic majesty's minister laboured to persuade prince Eugene to take upon him the command of the troops in Spain, in which the duke of Savoy likewise concurred; and Sir Cloudesley offered to transport his royal highness, with a body of troops under his command, to Spain; but this proposition being rejected, our admiral bore away for the Straits, and soon after resolved to return home, which was the last act of his life.

How that fatal accident arose which deprived Great-Britain of so eminent a naval commander, is hard to determine. Shameful negligence it certainly was, in those who navigated the fleet, but the cause of that negligence cannot be traced. On board the Association, with the admiral, were his two sons-in-law, Sir John Narborough, and James his brother; Mr. Trelawney, eldest son to the bishop of Winchester, and several young gentlemen of quality. Sir Cloudesley's body was thrown ashore the next day on the Island of Scilly, where some fishermen took him up, and having taken a valuable emerald ring from his finger, stripped and buried him. This ring brought the secret transaction to light; for being shewn about with great eagerness, a sea-officer, who happened to be on the island, knew it, and declared the ring to have been Sir Cloudesley Shovel's; he therefore compelled the men who were in possession of it, to discover where they had disposed of the body. He thereupon took it up, and carried it on board his own ship, the Arundel, which brought it to Portsmouth; from thence it was conveyed by land to London, and buried from his house in Soho-square, in Westminster-Abbey, with great funeral solemnity; where a monument

of white marble was afterwards erected, by the queen's direction, to his memory. The inscription on which is as follows:

"Sir Cloudesley Shovel, Knt. rear-admiral of Great-Britain; admiral, and commander in chief of the fleet; the just rewards of his long and faithful services: he was deservedly beloved of his country, and esteemed, though dreaded, by the enemy; who had often experienced his conduct and courage. Being shipwrecked on the rocks of Scilly, in his voyage from Toulon, the 22d of October, 1707, at night, in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

"His fate was lamented by all, but especially the seafaring part of the nation, to whom he was a worthy example. His body was flung on the shore, and buried with others in the sands; but being soon after taken up, was placed under this monument; which his royal mistress has caused to be erected, to commemorate his steady loyalty, and extraordinary virtues."

As we profess to give prints of the most remarkable monuments that have been erected to naval heroes, had the architect executed as happily, as her majesty expressed her regard nobly, this monument would certainly have had a place in our collection; but to say the truth, it is a heavy, awkward structure, and is spoken of by Mr. Addison, in the twenty-sixth number of the *Spectator*, in the following manner: "Sir Cloudesley Shovel's monument has very often given me great offence; instead of the brave rough English admiral, which was the distinguishing character of that plain gallant man, he is represented on his tomb by the figure of a beau, dressed in a long periwig, and reposing himself upon velvet cushions under a canopy of state. The inscription is answerable to the monument; for instead of celebrating the many remarkable actions
he

he had performed in the service of his country, it acquaints us only with the manner of his death, in which it was impossible for him to reap any honour. The Dutch, whom we are apt to despise for want of genius, shew an infinitely greater taste of antiquity and politeness in their buildings and works of this nature, than what we meet with in those of our own country. The monuments of their admirals, which have been erected at the public expence, represent them like themselves; and are adorned with rostral crowns and naval ornaments, with beautiful festoons of sea-weed, shells, and coral." How much the taste of later times has improved in England, in this particular, may be determined, by examining those monumental engravings which we have given in this work.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel, at the time of his death, was rear-admiral of England, admiral of the white, and commander in chief of her majesty's fleet; one of the council to prince George of Denmark, as lord high admiral of England an elder brother of the Trinity-house, and one of the governors of Greenwich-hospital; in all which stations, he discharged his trust with the greatest honour and integrity; and as, in his public character, he was an accomplished sea officer, one who had always the glory of his queen, and the good of his country at heart; so in all circumstances of private life, as an husband, parent, master of his family, he conducted himself with such prudence, wisdom, and tenderness, that few men lived more beloved, or died more lamented. Her majesty expressed a very particular concern for his loss, and was pleased to tell Sir John Leake, when she made him rear-admiral of England, that she knew no man so fit to repair the loss of the ablest seamen in her service.

Our admiral married the widow of his friend and patron Sir John Narborough, by whom he left two daughters

daughters coheireffes; the eldest of whom married lord Romney, and had issue by him, Robert, the present lord Romney, a nobleman eminently distinguished for his depth of learning, elegant taste, and sound judgment; also two daughters, Elizabeth, and Harriot, the eldest of which married in 1741, Sir James Bouverie, Bart. afterwards viscount Folkestone. Lady Romney becoming a widow in 1724, was married in 1732, to John, lord Carmichael, afterwards third earl of Hyndford, and died in 1750*.

* Collins's Peerage, Vol. VII. p. 221.



C H A P. III.

The Naval History of GREAT-BRITAIN, from the Union of ENGLAND with SCOTLAND, to the Death of Queen ANNE.

Supplies voted by Parliament—Situation of the East-India Company, and of the Bank of England—Discontents in Scotland—An Invasion threatened from France—The Pretender sails from Dunkirk His return—Parliament dissolved—Sardinia and Minorca reduced—Death of Prince George of Denmark—Campaign of 1708—Commodore Wager intercepts the Galleons—New Parliament—Proposals of Peace made by France—Rejected by the Allies—General Naturalization of Foreign Protestants—Capital of the Bank of England doubled—Campaign of 1709—Engagement with a French Squadron—Conferences at Gertruydenburg—A general Ferment—Offers made by France—Campaign of 1710—Parliamentary Enquiries—Portsmouth, Chatham, and Harwich strongly fortified—Rise of the Town of Liverpool—Expedition to Newfoundland—Port-Royal, or Anapolis, in Nova-Scotia, taken—Campaign of 1711—Unsuccessful Enterprize on Quebec and Canada—Death of the Emperor Joseph—Prior's Embassy to France—Disgrace of Marlborough—Dunkirk ceded to the English—Barrier Treaty—Rise of the English South-Sea Company—Congress at Utrecht—Campaign of 1712—Successes of two English Privateers in the South-Seas—Queen Anne's Disposition towards the Pretender—Appointment of the Duke of Ormond—Peace of Utrecht—Peace between the Emperor and the

the French King—Affiento Treaty—Views of the Pretender—Proclamation against him—Death of the Princess Sophia—Death of Queen Anne—State of the National Debt at her Decease—MISCELLANEOUS OCCURRENCES. Quantity of Tobacco imported into England—Customs of Great-Britain—Exports made by the East-India Company—Louisiana granted by the French King—Revenue of the Post-Office—Balance of England's Commerce—Price of the Public Funds—Reward for discovering the Longitude—Reduction of legal Interest of Money—Rise of the Ostend Company.

AFTER both houses of parliament had adjusted many important matters respecting the government of the united kingdoms, they proceeded to take into consideration the future conduct of the war. The lords came to a resolution, that no peace could be safe and honourable for her majesty and her allies, if Spain and the Spanish West-Indies were suffered to continue in the power of the house of Bourbon. They presented an address, in which they desired she would press the emperor to send powerful succours into Spain, under the command of prince Eugene, with all possible expedition, to make good his contract with the duke of Savoy, and strengthen the army on the Rhine, which was now happily put under the conduct of that wise and valiant prince the elector of Hanover. The commons concurred in this address; in consequence of which the queen desired the emperor to bestow the command in Spain upon prince Eugene. The court of Vienna, however, did not comply with this request, but sent thither count Staremberg, who, of all the German generals, was next to the prince in military reputation. The commons now proceeded to consider of ways and means, and established

established funds for raising the supplies, which amounted this year to the enormous sum of near six millions *.

Harley, though he had quitted his employment, yet retained his place in the queen's favour; the petulance of the duchess of Marlborough, who formerly held an entire ascendancy over the will of her royal mistress, had lost her that preeminence which she had abused. The queen, all at once, bestowed her favours and her confidence on a Mrs. Masham, who had been introduced by Mr. Harley, and who was devoted to his interest. By the intrigues of this stateswoman, the credit of Marlborough, and his adherents, was secretly undermined, although the duke, and his son-in-law the lord-treasurer Godolphin, were of too much consequence to be immediately divested of their employments.

Before the parliament broke up they passed an act, by which a farther term of fourteen years and a half was granted to the East-India Company, in consequence of its advancing one million two hundred thousand pounds for the public service, which sum was advanced without any additional interest; and the capital of the company, which before was limited to two millions, was now extended to three millions two hundred thousand pounds, the interest payable on which was settled at five per cent. and in order for a speedy and complete union between the old and new companies, in pursuance of the agreement entered into in the year 1702, the final determination of all matters of difference between them, and the completing of their union, was referred to the earl of Godolphin, lord-treasurer: the whole to be completed, and the old company's charter to be surrendered, by Michael-

* 5,933,657l. 17s. 4d. upwards of 2,300,000l. of which was appropriated to the service of the navy.

was 1708; after which the united company's style and title to be, as it still is, The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies. Much clamour was raised against this renewal of the exclusive privileges of trading to India, as had always happened upon a renewal. The legislature was called upon either to lay that trade entirely open, or to admit the ports of Bristol, Liverpool, and Hull, to a participation. It was contended to be unjust for London to engross the whole of so vast a commerce, while the Dutch East-India Company included six of their towns in that commerce. In reply to which it was urged, that as the stock was transferrable, any person in the three kingdoms was at liberty to become a purchaser.

An act of parliament was also passed, for securing the credit of the Bank of England, by which it was enacted, that during the continuance of the governor and company of the Bank of England, it shall not be lawful for any body politic, erected or to be erected, other than the Bank of England, or for any persons whatsoever united, or to be united in covenants or partnerships, exceeding the number of six persons in England, (the Bank of Scotland had been legally established in 1695) to borrow, owe, or take, up any sums of money on their bills or notes, payable on demand, or in less time than six months from the borrowing thereof. This restriction was principally meant to affect the Mine-Adventurer's Company, who had established a Bank.

Meanwhile great discontents arose on the score of the union. France, who had not interposed the secret agency of bribes, to prevent a measure fraught with mischief to the schemes of that kingdom, probably hoped to see it overthrown by the antipathy which the body of the Scottish nation entertained for
for

for such an incorporating compact. The court of France made use of these commotions to introduce the excluded family into Scotland. The appellation which the French gave to this reputed son of king James, was, the Chevalier de St. George, whilst queen Anne soon after, distinguished him by the name of the Pretender. A squadron of small men of war, consisting of five ships equipped for action, and two fitted for transports, was prepared at Dunkirk, while eleven or twelve battalions were ordered to assemble there from the garrisons of Calais, St. Omers, Bergues, Aire, and Lisle*. The count de Forbin commanded the fleet, and the marquis de Gace the troops intended for this expedition. The preparations were carried on with expedition and secrecy, and when they first became publicly known, it was uncertain where the storm was to fall. Men could scarce believe that an invasion of Great-Britain was seriously meant by the enemy, without a fleet of capital ships, and therefore the States of the United Provinces began to be extremely apprehensive of a descent on the coast of Zeeland.

The views of France, in forwarding this design, were to create a diversion, and, if possible, to raise a rebellion in Scotland, and thereby retard the more distant operations of the war. The first intelligence that was obtained of the real destination of the force assembled at Dunkirk, was by general Cadogan, who resided at the Hague, in quality of ambassador at the court of Great-Britain: the pretended prince of Wales arriving soon after at Dunkirk, confirmed the information. The queen, by Mr. Secretary Boyle, who had succeeded Harley, acquainted the house of commons with this event,

* Hooke's Negotiations.

on the 4th day of March. Both houses of parliament hereupon presented very loyal addresses to the throne, and the habeas-corpus act was suspended. A general alarm spread through the nation, and public credit felt a dreadful shock. A great demand upon the Bank of England ensued, the credit of which being closely connected with that of the Exchequer, the lord-treasurer Godolphin allowed six per cent. instead of three per cent. on the sealed bills of the Bank. He also supplied the company with large sums of money out of his private fortune, which example was followed by the dukes of Marlborough, Newcastle, and Somerset, and many other opulent noblemen. By such powerful support, and by the directors making a call of twenty per cent. on their capital, the Bank was enabled to weather the storm, and maintain its credit inviolate. The preparations of the ministry kept pace with the zeal of parliament. Sir George Byng and lord Dursley, with a fleet of twenty-three British, and three Dutch men of war, together with a fire-ship, had stretched over from Deal to Dunkirk, on the 27th day of February, whilst a sufficient convoy was retained for the Lisbon fleet. Ten battalions of English troops were ordered from Flanders; the forces in England were every where in motion; and the regiments stationed in the south of Ireland were marched towards the north, for the convenience of a short passage to Scotland.

The English fleet anchored before Gravelines, but being driven from their station by a storm, Forbin found means to slip out of Dunkirk, and stretched away for the Frith of Edinburgh, Sir George Byng pursuing him with all his force. On the 12th the French made the coast of Scotland, but either through the ignorance of their pilots, or the design of count Forbin, who is said to have had positive

positive orders neither to land the troops, nor to hazard the loss of the squadron *, they found themselves to the north of their destination. The Salisbury, an English prize, then in their service, with several persons of great quality on board, was taken †, the rest having suffered much hardship at sea, and lost many of their men by sickness, sunk, ship by ship, into Dunkirk. The Chevalier de St. George is said to have entreated the French admiral, when they came within sight of the Scottish coast, to put him on shore, being resolved, he said, to remain in Scotland, should no one follow him but his own domestics. Forbin having long argued in vain on the impropriety of that step, positively refused, at last, to comply with his request ‡; the French knew better than to suffer so useful an instrument to the carrying on of their designs, to be lost through his own precipitancy.

Sir George Byng brought his fleet to the Downs, and repaired himself from thence to London, where a general dissatisfaction was expressed, because he had not made prize of the whole French fleet, which were supposed to have been in his power. These clamours occasioned an enquiry to be set on foot in the house of commons, and an address was preferred to the queen, praying, that an account might be laid before them of the number of ships that went on the expedition with Sir George Byng, and when the same were cleaned; which being complied with, it was resolved, that the thanks of the house should be given to the prince as high-admiral,

* Lockhart's Memoirs. † The capture of the Salisbury was a very considerable acquisition, considering the number of persons taken on board her; for besides lord Griffin, lord Clermont, Charles Middleton, and Francis Wauchope, Esquires, who had all followed the fortune of king James; there were likewise several land and sea-officers, in the French service, of very great distinction, five companies of the regiment of Bearn, and all the ships company consisting of three hundred men.

‡ M. d'Andrezel's Letter to the French Ministry.

for

for his great care in so expeditiously setting forth so great a number of ships, whereby the fleet under Sir George Byng was enabled, so happily, to prevent the intended invasion. Thus the conduct of the admiral, in the expedition, was entirely passed over. On the 13th day of April the parliament was prorogued, and two days after dissolved by proclamation.

About this time the lord high-admiral made the following promotion of flag-officers; Sir John Leake was declared admiral of the white, and admiral and commander in chief of her majesty's fleet; Sir George Byng, admiral of the blue; Sir John Jennings, vice-admiral of the red; Sir John Norris, vice-admiral of the white; the lord Dursley, vice-admiral of the blue; Sir Edward Whitaker, rear-admiral of the red; and John Baker, Esq; rear-admiral of the white. Some alterations were likewise made in his royal highness's council.

The naval strength of the maritime powers was, as usual, intended to be exerted on the eastern coasts of Spain. Sir John Leake, who commanded the grand fleet, was early at sea, and in his passage to Lisbon effectually protected all the outward-bound merchantmen that sailed from the Channel. He arrived in the Tagus on the 27th day of March, where he found the squadron which commodore Hickey had brought from Tuscany, on the death of admiral Dilkes. At a council of war it was resolved, that the fleet and transports should proceed to Vado, in the gulph of Genoa. Three men of war were ordered to cruise off the Azores, to protect the Brazil fleet, on its return to Portugal, Other men of war were appointed to cruise in the Strait's mouth, to guard the English and Dutch trade; the number of which ships was augmented, upon advice being received from colonel Elliot, governor

governor of Gibraltar, that some French ships of war had been seen in those parts. The transport ships having received on board fifteen hundred horse, the fleet sailed on the 28th day of April. On the 11th day of May, being about twelve leagues from Alicant, several vessels appeared in sight of the fleet: the next day a French frigate, of twenty-four guns, was taken, by which the admiral learnt, that the ships in sight, were three French men of war, one of forty-four, one of forty, and another of thirty-two guns, together with ninety settees* and tartans†, laden with wheat, barley, and oil, for the use of the army under the duke of Orleans, and bound for Peniscola, between the mouth of the Ebro and the city of Valencia. The British frigates immediately bore down on the French men of war, which abandoning their convoy, sought their safety by flight, and night coming on, they found means to elude their pursuers. The division of the fleet, under the command of the vice-admiral of the white, being nearest in shore, their long-boats were manned, and their small ships sent out to attack the barks, as they were plying along the coast, whereby the greater part was taken. By the intercepting this supply, the army in Valencia, which fought for Philip, was much distressed; and that of Charles, now pent up in the confines of Barcelona, greatly assisted.

Sir John Leake arrived with his fleet at Barcelona on the 19th day of May, and continuing there only a few days, proceeded to Vado, to

* A Settee is a ship of two masts, equipped with triangular sails, commonly called lateen sails. These vessels are peculiar to the Mediterranean Sea, and are generally navigated by Italians, Greeks, or Mahometans.—*Falconer's Marine Dictionary*.

† A tartan is a small coasting vessel, navigated in the Mediterranean Sea, and having only one mast and a bowsprit, the principal sail, which is extremely large, being extended by a lateen yard.—*Idem*.

take on board the princess Wolfenbuttle, whom Charles the Third had espoused. He waited on the queen of Spain at Milan, and was received with every mark of respect. Her majesty embarked at Genoa on the 2d day of July, on board the fleet, which conveyed her to Barcelona. The admiral then sat about executing the important objects of the war, the first of which was the reduction of Sardinia. He appeared before Cagliari, the capital of the island, on the 1st day of August. The marquis of Jamaica, who commanded there for king Philip, being summoned to surrender, declared his resolution of holding out to the last extremity. The ships thereupon began to bombard the place that night, and the next morning eighteen hundred foldiers, under the command of major-general Wills, were landed, in order to storm it; but the governor, dreading the consequences of these vigorous advances, capitulated. The whole island immediately submitted without drawing a sword, for as soon as the English fleet had come in sight, the monks, gained by the cardinal Grimani, ran in bodies through the streets, holding crucifixes in their hands, and declaring to the people who flocked round them, that God had made use of heretics to give them a better master. The reduction of this island was of equal importance to the common cause, and to the private interest of Charles; to the first it rendered the navigation of the Mediterranean secure, and it supplied the latter with corn and other provisions.

No sooner had Sir John Leake established the new viceroy which he carried over, in the peaceable possession of the island, than he sailed to Minorca, and appeared before port Mahon on the 25th day of August. Here he was to be joined by lieutenant-general Stanhope, with a body of troops from
Majorca,

Majorca, which soon after arrived. The landing being effected, the greatest part of the fleet proceeded to England, leaving, with general Stanhope, all their marines above the middle compliment. The squadron destined to remain in the Mediterranean, was put under the command of Sir Edward Whitaker, and continued at Port Mahon to cooperate with the army. Two thousand six hundred men were employed in the siege; the batteries were opened on the 28th day of October, and two days after it surrendered. About fifty men were killed or wounded in the siege; among the former was captain Stanhope, of the *Milford*, brother to the general, a young gentleman of eminent bravery. This island was in itself less considerable than Sardinia, but more valuable to the British nation, on account of the excellent harbour of Port Mahon. Sir John Leake arrived with the fleet at St. Helens, on the 19th day of October.

In consequence of the remonstrances from king Charles, Sir Edward Whitaker, who was then at Leghorn, sent the *Defiance* and the *York*, with the *Terrible* bomb-vessel, to assist the viceroy of Naples in the reduction of some places on the coast of Tuscany; but the attempt miscarried through the dilatoriness of the Germans in providing the necessary supplies. These ships, however, overawed the Italian States, and particularly the pope, who had firmly adhered to the interests of Philip the Fifth, but was now forced to acknowledge Charles III. as lawful king of Spain.

Having now gone over the occurrences in the Mediterranean, during the year 1708, let us take a view of affairs nearer home.

In order to distract France, by dividing her attention, and spreading a general alarm, preparations were made to annoy the coast by a descent. Sir George Byng commanded the fleet appointed for this

service, and lord Dursley was vice-admiral; the land-forces were commanded by lieutenant-general Erle. On the 27th of July, the fleet, with the transports, having the troops on board, which were intended for the descent, sailed from Spithead, and came the next day to an anchor off Deal. The 29th they stood over to the coast of Picardy, as well to alarm as to mislead the enemy, and to be ready for farther orders. The 1st of August the fleet sailed again, and anchored the next day in the bay of Boulogne, where they made a feint of landing their troops; the third they stood in for the shore, to observe the condition of the enemy; the fourth they weighed, but anchored again about noon in the bay of Estaples. Here a detachment of troops were landed; but the project on shore, which this descent was to have countenanced, being laid aside, an express brought new orders from England, upon which the troops were reëmbarked. The 7th they stood over again to the coast of England, and being joined by more transports in Dover Road, arrived the 11th in the bay of La Hogue; the 12th they designed to have landed, but, upon viewing the coast, they found so many troops brought together to oppose a descent, and so many forts and batteries on shore, that it was deemed impracticable. The 14th the fleet set sail again for the westward, but the wind coming about the next day, they altered their course, and lay before Cherbourg, but found no prospect of doing any thing there. The same day the lord Dursley, in the Oxford, with six other men of war, and marines, sailed to the westward, to cruize in the Soundings. The 17th the rest of the fleet returned to the bay of La Hogue; but the men growing sickly, and provisions falling short, Sir George Byng returned to Spithead on the 28th. After thus alarming

alarming the French coast, the duke of Marlborough solicited, that the land-forces might be landed at Ostend, which was accordingly performed on the 23d day of September, and at so critical a juncture, that their arrival decided the fortune of the contending powers, with respect to the object before them, by effecting the surrender of Lisle to the confederates.

Meanwhile the vigilance of lord Dursley, in scouring the Channel, entirely drove away the French privateers and cruisers, which before had insolently braved us in our very ports, and done essential injury to our trade.

On the continent, the duke of Marlborough having placed himself at the head of the confederates, in the neighbourhood of Ghent, in the end of May, the French took the field on that side, with an army that outnumbered the allies. The duke of Burgundy commanded, but the duke de Vendome was the effective general. Though their strength rendered them a match for the confederates in the field, yet their frequent experience of the inferiority on the side of France in military prowess, led them to act by stratagem and surprize rather than by open force. The elector of Bavaria prevailed on the magistrates of Ghent and Bruges to surrender their respective towns to the French troops, which they took possession of in the month of July, whilst Marlborough being now joined by Eugene, forced the French to retreat at Oudenard, although they were not beaten*. Instead of retrieving the honour which they had lost they plunged themselves deeper in disgrace and misfortune. They retired from Ghent, which they had just become masters of, and saw, without attempting to prevent it, prince

* July 11, 1708.

Eugene form the siege of Lille. That city, on the fortifications of which Vauban had exerted all his extraordinary talents, was considered as the key to France, from the side of Flanders. The marshal de Boufflers defended it in person, at the head of a numerous garrison. Vendome attempted in vain to relieve the place, by endeavouring to cut off the convoys with supplies, which the confederates received by the Scheld and from Ostend. In attacking a party of English at Winnendal, a French detachment was defeated with the loss of all their cannon and implements of war. Vendome twice attempted to force the lines of the besiegers, after the duke of Berwick had arrived with a large reinforcement. Whilst nothing could interrupt the progress of the siege from without, the garrison within the walls made a gallant defence, but after having for three months withstood all assaults, Boufflers abandoned the town, and withdrew his garrison into the citadel, which he defended till the 8th day of December, when he was obliged to surrender.

All Europe were astonished at the reduction of Lille in the sight of a superior army, which was considered as better able to besiege Eugene and Marlborough, than these generals were to invest Lille. The divisions which prevailed in the French army enervated its strength. The officers in the duke of Vendome's party, imputed their misfortunes to the duke of Burgundy's counsels, who, on their side, charged all on the duke de Vendome. One of the duke of Burgundy's courtiers, said to Vendome: "See the consequence of your never going to mass; to this we must ascribe all our misfortune." "Do you imagine," answered Vendome, "that Marlborough goes thither oftener than I?"

• Voltaire.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding, the difficulties of the allies were not ended by the conquest of Lille. They had lost between eighteen and twenty thousand men before the place, and they were compelled either to repass the Scheld, or to distribute the troops in the small space of country comprehended between Lille, Menin and Courtray. To pass a river, whose banks were occupied by an enemy superior in number, was a dangerous undertaking; and by not doing it, Flanders, Brabant, Guelderland, even some of the United Provinces would have been exposed to the ravages of the French. The Duke of Marlborough, who ever treated fortune as if she had stipulated to favour his designs, attempted, without hesitation, to pass the Scheld, and he did it without drawing a sword*.

The raising the siege of Brussels, which the elector of Bavaria had invested, was the first consequence of this exploit. On the approach of the allies he precipitately decamped, leaving all his cannon, ammunition and wounded. At the close of the campaign the Duke of Vendome went to Paris. He durst not pass through Paris, dreading the consequences of the public hatred which his conduct had raised. Irritated at his cold reception at court, he retired to one of his estates, being the fifth Marshal of France whom Marlborough's success had driven from the service†.

In Spain, the allies were least successful. The House of Bourbon had three armies in the field; two on the side of Catalonia, under the duke of Orleans, and the Duke de Noailles; and the third in Estramadura, commanded by the marquis de Bay. Though Charles III. had not a force sufficient to face the duke of Orleans in the field, the latter was

* November 16, 1708. Vol. II. p. 397.

† Macpherson's History of England,

prevented

prevented from making any decisive progress by the unprovided condition of his army. He however took Tortola on the 11th day of July. Denia and Alicant in the kingdom of Valencia, fell into the hands of Philip V. before the end of the campaign. The duke de Noailles, who opposed the prince of Darmstadt, performed nothing of importance, except providing his troops with provisions during the campaign at the expence of the Catalonians. The summer passed in a state of inactivity on the side of Portugal. The French, though superior in numbers, attempted nothing. Every opportunity which occurs of recording the display of humanity amidst the horrors of war should be carefully attended to, and an instance of this kind presents itself in the conduct of the generals who commanded the two armies: they mutually agreed, in imitation of the ancient Romans, that the labourers on the frontiers of Spain and Portugal, which were become the seat of war, should be unmolested, and suffered to cultivate the earth, and breed cattle, protected from all depredations: that the war should be considered as subsisting only between regular armies, and not between the peasantry of the two kingdoms.

During these transactions abroad, the nation in their attention to the events of war, seemed to lose their former animosities and fears. A general tranquillity prevailed, except where it was disturbed by contested elections for the new parliament. But the joy which the queen derived from the great success of her arms, was damped by the death of her husband the prince of Denmark, on the 28th day of October 1708, at Kensington, of an asthma, with which he had been long afflicted. He was

* History D'Espagne, Tom. II.

born in 1653; and married the princess; afterwards queen Anne, on the 28th day of July 1683. He was interred with great funeral pomp in Westminster-abbey. The queen, during the twenty-five years of their marriage, was eminent for her conjugal affection, and testified uncommon tenderness and assiduity, during the tedious illness with which the prince was afflicted. His royal highness had shewn himself brave in war, both in Denmark and Ireland: his temper was mild and gentle: he had made a good progress in mathematics: he had travelled through France, Italy, and Germany, and knew much more than he couldwell express; for he spoke acquired languages ill and ungracefully*. The queen kept the admiralty in her own hands about three weeks, and then appointed Thomas, earl of Pembroke, lord high admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, to the dissatisfaction of those who wished to see the earl of Oxford fill that station.

On the 27th of October, a court-martial was held on board the Royal Anne, at Spithead, for the trials of captain Richard Edwards, of the Cumberland; captain John Balchen, of the Chester; and captain Baron Wild, of the Royal Oak; the two first for losing their ships, and the last for breaking the line, disobeying orders, and neglect of duty. After a strict examination of witnesses, and free liberty given to the persons accused to make their defence, and to produce whatever testimonies were in their power, captain Edwards was most honourably acquitted, and declared to have done his duty in every respect as captain and commodore; and Captain John Balchen was likewise acquitted; but Captain Baron Wild, who we have seen particularly unfortunate in the last year †, being found guilty

* Dr. Campbell, Vol. IV. p. 103.

† See pages 200 and 204.

of

of neglect of duty, and disobeying orders, was not only cashiered, but declared incapable of ever serving in the royal navy.*

Before we quit the transactions of the year 1708, it will be proper to relate what passed in the West-Indies. Commodore Wager succeeded Sir John Jennings in his command there, and arrived at Jamaica in the summer of 1707. The trade in those parts, which had been greatly injured by the mercenary conduct of commodore Ker, when he commanded on that station, began again to flourish from the disinterested and vigilant conduct of Wager, who readily granted convoys for the service of the merchants, and likewise by protecting the English settlements, which services were gratefully acknowledged by the planters and merchants in their representations to the board of admiralty. No sooner had the commodore taken the proper measures for the service of his friends, than he directed his attention to consider how he might best annoy the enemy. The galleons, fraught with the treasures of the western hemisphere, had not ventured to Europe for some years, and were now on the point of sailing. Their immense wealth, which was computed to amount to forty-eight millions, was necessary to replenish the exhausted treasures of the Bourbon monarchs, whose expedients for substituting mint bills in the room of specie, had reduced the credit of government to a state of contempt. The force which the commodore commanded, consisted of the *Windfor*, *Expedition*, *Severn*, *Kingston*, *Assistance*, *Portland*, and *Dunkirk's* prize. In the beginning of the year 1708, by letters found on board a sloop taken between Porto Bello and Carthagena, it appeared, that Monsieur Du Casse was arrived at Martinico from Europe, with ten ships of war, eight

* Lediard's Naval History, p. 833.

of which mounted from seventy to eighty-six guns, together with several large privateers; this account was soon afterwards confirmed by colonel Parkes, who presided at the Leeward Islands. Wager was sensible, that the only opportunity which presented itself for him to attack the galleons, with any prospect of success, was before they had joined the French fleet. He had certain information that they was to sail from Porto Bello to Carthagena, and from thence to the Havannah. Whilst he was cruising as near to the former harbour as he could venture without alarming the Spaniards, having with him the Expedition, Kingston, Portland; also the Vulture fireship, on the 28th day of May, at noon, seventeen sail of galleons were discovered from the top-mast-head. The Spaniards on perceiving the English squadron, endeavoured to gain the Baru, a small island, which lay in their way to Carthagena, but not being able to accomplish that, and rendered bold by the inconsiderable force that was opposed to them, drew up in a line of battle, all the time bearing away to the northward. The Spanish admiral carried a white pendent at the top-mast-head in the centre; the vice-admiral, with the same kind of pendent at the fore-top-mast-head in the rear; and the rear-admiral bore his pendent on the mizen-top-mast-head in the van, they were distant from each other about half a mile, which space was occupied by other ships. Of the seventeen sail, two were sloops and one a brigantine; two others were French ships, which set all their sails and got off. Commodore Wager in the Expedition, bore down on the Spanish admiral, and directed captain Bridges of the Kingston, to engage the vice-admiral, and captain Windsor of the Portland, to attack the rear-admiral. As the fireship could not be rendered serviceable, she was ordered to ply to the windward.

About sun-set, the engagement began between the two commanders in chief, and continued for an hour and an half, when, it being dark, the Spanish admiral's ship blew up, not without great danger to the Expedition, from the flaming splinters and planks which fell on board her, and the great heat of the blast. Hereupon, the commodore put abroad his signal lights for keeping company, and endeavoured to continue sight of some of the enemies ships; but finding after this accident they began to separate, and discovering but one, which was the rear-admiral, he made sail after her, and coming up about ten o'clock, when he could not judge which way her head lay, it being very dark, he fired a broadside, which happened to reach her stern, and did such execution, that she appeared to be disabled from making sail; and being then to leeward, he tacking on the Spaniard, got to the windward of him, and the Kingston and Portland (which had, by reason of the darkness of the night, or the blowing up of the admiral which made it very thick thereabouts, lost sight of the other ships) following his lights soon after, came up with him, and assisting in taking the rear-admiral, who called for quarter about two in the morning. On board of this ship, he sent his boats to bring to him the chief officers, and before the rising of the sun, he saw one large ship on his weather-bow, and three sail upon the weather-quarter, three or four leagues off ours, lying, then with their heads to the north, the winding being at N.E. an easy gale. Then he put out the signal for the Kingston and Portland to chase to windward, not being able himself to make sail, being much disabled; and as he had a great part of his men in the prize, so were there no less than 300 prisoners on board his own ship*.

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 706.

The next day, being Sunday the 30th, the wind blowing gently from the N. E. to N. N. W. the Kingston and Portland had left off chasing; but he made the signal for continuing it, which they did, and ran him out of sight, the fireship still continuing with him, and he having lain by sometime, not only to put the prize in a condition of sailing, but to refit his own rigging, made sail eastward on the 31st, when the Kingston and Portland joined him, and gave him an account, that the ship they chased, was the vice-admiral; to which, as they said, they came so near, as to fire their broadsides into her; but were so far advanced towards the Salmadinas, a shoal off of Carthagena, that they were forced to tack, and leave her. Thus escaped that very rich carrack, to the great disappointment of the officers and crews of the English ships, who inveighed bitterly against their captains. Mean while the commodore sent them orders to attack a galleon of forty guns, which he understood, by a Swedish ship that had been trading at Baru, had taken shelter in that island. She was just coming out of port, as the Kingston and Portland appeared; upon which, her crew ran her a-shore, set on her fire, and blew her up, so that nothing could be saved of her valuable cargo. On the 2d of June, the commodore, finding his provisions and water short, the wind contrary, and nothing more to be done in those parts, resolved to set the Spanish prisoners a-shore with a flag of truce, in compliance with their earnest entreaty, on the island of Baru, and then proceed for Jamaica; which he performed accordingly*. The Expedition had two men killed, and nine wounded in the action. As

* According to the account given to the commodore by these prisoners, of the strength and value of the squadron, the admiral's ship was called the St. Joseph, carried 64 guns, and had 600 men, of whom seventeen only were saved, and had on board about seven millions in gold and silver; the vice-admiral mounted 64 guns, and had between four and five hundred men, with about six millions; the rear-admiral mounted

As soon as the commodore reached Jamaica with his prize, he dispatched a vessel to England, with advice of the galleons being on their voyage to Spain, and on the 23d day of July, he held a court-martial at Port Royal on the two captains, who were accused of neglecting to do their utmost to take or destroy the Spanish vice-admiral's ship. No object could be more stimulating than the capture of so valuable a prize, neither was it an enterprize of such hazard as to require any uncommon share of courage to perform it. The captain of the Kingston, was accused of not suffering the ship to be piloted into a shoal called Salmadinas, when he was within gunshot of the galleon. The reason which the captain assigned for this caution was, that he doubted the pilot's abilities to execute what he was ready to undertake, and thought it desperately staking the safety of his ship. No want of personal courage was imputed to him. A similar charge was exhibited against captain Windsor of the Portland, of which they were both found guilty, and deprived of their commissions *.—The loss of so rich a prize was enough to warp the judgment of the court so immediately after the event had happened, and gave that conduct the appearance of criminality, which at a more dispassionate season might have been thought commendable. That man is in an ugly predicament who disappoints the public expectation; by failing to perform impossibilities. In truth, the pilots knew but little of those coasts, and a com-

mounted 44 guns, but carried eleven more in her hold, and had only thirteen chests of pieces of eight, and fourteen sows of silver. I shall take this opportunity of adding a succinct account of a gallant exploit performed by an English officer a little before the taking the galleons. Captain Coleby, commander of a privateer sloop, of about 100 men, meeting with fourteen sail of brigantines, and sloops, laden with valuable goods, going from the galleons at Porto-Bello, to Panama, under convoy of a guard-sloop, bravely fought the guard-sloop, and took her, and six more. The Spaniards offered the captain 180,000 pieces of eight for the ransom of the sloop, which he refused.—*Dr. Campbell.*

* Captain Trever succeeded to the Kingston, and Captain Hutchins to the Portland.

mander

mander would have been rash to have trusted the fate of his ship implicitly to their guidance, when the hopes of possessing a rich prize was likely to make them precipitate. Not long after this event happened, the English frigate called Dunkirk's prize, captain Purvis, cruising to the northward of Hispaniola, chased a French ship, and ran her on shore near Cape Francoise, when in following her, the pilot being unskilful, she struck upon a ledge of rocks and bulged. Indeed, the bravery of the captain and part of the crew, retrieved this misfortune, for getting upon a small island within shot of the French ship, which all the while fired briskly upon them, they got together the ship's boats and a canoe, and were preparing to board her, when the Frenchman surrendered, on condition that her commander and men should be put ashore. In this ship the brave captain Purvis arrived at Jamaica, with all his company, except twenty-one, who had refused to join in the attempt *. But to return to commodore Wager.

A few days after the court-martial broke up, commodore Edwards arrived at Jamaica with the *Monmouth*, a third rate; the *Jersey* a fourth; and the *Roebuck* a fifth rate. He brought a commission from the admiralty, appointing Wager a rear-admiral of the blue, which perferment preceded this his bold attack of the galleons. Orders came herewith for the rear-admiral to send home four of his ships, which accordingly sailed the latter end of September, and admiral Wager hoisted his flag on board the *Monmouth*; where we shall leave him for the present, to relate the transactions on the Continent.

The great success of the campaign, confirmed the influence which Marlborough and Godolphin had acquired, by the expulsion of Harley from the cabinet. They found means at the same time to

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 710.

reconcile

reconcile the Whigs to their measures, by dividing among their leaders the power and emoluments of government. The weight of the crown being thrown into the scale of that party, they carried most of the contested elections in the house of commons against the Tories, and secured a majority. The new parliament met on the 18th day of November; they chose Sir Richard Onslow, Bart. for their Speaker. The sessions was opened by commission, the lord chancellor, in a speech from the throne, recommended a provision for the navy, and especially for the building of new ships, and fortifying our ports. On the 6th day of December, the house of commons addressed for an account of the number of men that might be wanting to man her majesty's navy, for the year 1709; which was promised, and upon its being laid before the house, they agreed to it immediately, and voted the same number of men, with the same allowance, and the same sum for the ordinary use of the navy, as had been given the year before; but soon after, the commons thought fit to appoint a committee to enquire into the number of ships employed as cruisers and convoys; as also to discover the true reasons of the great increase of the navy-debt; and on their report, they came to a resolution on the 24th of March, that an address be presented to her majesty, to desire that she would be pleased to give directions to the proper officers, to lay before the house an account of all sums of money granted, or voted, since her majesty's accession to the crown, and how far the same had proved deficient. At the same time, they ordered the commissioners of the navy to lay before them the causes of the increase of the debt of the navy; but, to this address, her majesty gave no answer; so that the affair dropped for that time. This conduct of the court gave much offence; yet the commons were so hearty in the prosecution of the war, that

that they voted 6,457,830*l.* for the service of the year 1709. They next granted the sum of 103,209*l.* for the relief of the inhabitants of St. Nevis, and St. Christophers, and passed a vote in favour of the trade to Africa. Both houses joined in an address, that her majesty would be pleased not to conclude any peace with the French king, unless he consented to demolish the fortifications and harbour of Dunkirk.

In the beginning of the year 1709, a bill was ordered into the house of commons for a general naturalization of foreign protestants in England, in favour of which it was argued, that very great benefits would thereby accrue to Great Britain. It was observed, that the king of Prussia, by inviting the French refugees to settle in his dominions had fertilized a barren and ill peopled country; improved its trade and manufactures, and increased his own revenues. The bill was accordingly passed. By this act for naturalizing foreign protestants, all persons born out of the ligeance of her majesty, who should take and subscribe the oaths, and the declaration appointed the preceding year, should be deemed, adjudged, and taken, to be her majesty's natural born subjects, provided they should have received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in some protestant or reformed congregation, within the kingdom of Great Britain, within three months of their taking the said oaths. The children of all natural-born subjects, though born out of the ligeance of her majesty, should be deemed and adjudged to be natural-born subjects of Great Britain to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever. And the like naturalization of foreign protestants was extended to Ireland.

Soon after the passing this law, near seven thousand of the poor Palatines and Swabians, dwelling on the banks of the Rhine, in Germany, who had been utterly ruined and driven from their habitation

tations by the French, were, in compassion to their misery brought over to England, and were soon after followed by more of their countrymen. Had they been immediately sent over to some one or more of our continental colonies in America, they would have caused a great accession of strength in those parts; but no settled plan was concerted for their establishment any where. In order to provide for their present support, a brief was granted throughout Great Britain for a collection for them. Some of them were taken into private families, five hundred families of them were sent into Ireland, where twenty-four thousand pounds was granted for their support. At length three thousand of them were conveyed to New-York, and settled upon Hudson's river. Many who were dissatisfied with that settlement removed to Pennsylvania, where they were kindly received by the quakers. This friendly reception proved afterwards the means of drawing many thousands of German and Swiss protestants thither, whereby that province has since become one of the most populous and flourishing in North-America.

In order to raise the enormous supplies which had been granted this year by parliament, the assistance of the Bank of England was found necessary. An act of parliament therefore passed, for enlarging the capital stock of the Bank of England, by which the governor and company were empowered to double their stock, and to sell their additional stock, amounting to two millions two hundred and one thousand one hundred and seventy one pounds ten shillings, at the rate of one hundred and fifteen pounds for every hundred pounds subscribed. This sum was fully subscribed for in four hours, on the first day of opening the subscription. A clear proof that a seven years extensive and draining war, had not exhausted

hausted the nation of its wealth. The Bank hereby obliged themselves to advance to government four hundred thousand pounds, without any additional allowance of interest, agreeable to what the East-India company had furnished, on receiving from government a similar extension of their powers. Their original capital of one million two hundred thousand pounds, at eight per cent. now amounted to one million six hundred thousand pounds, at six per cent. interest; the fifteen per cent. advance on the sale of their additional stock, enabled them to make this payment of four hundred thousand pounds to the public. By means of the Bank, two millions five hundred thousand pounds in Exchequer bills were circulated.

The Bank capital (a part of which was only temporary) amount-

	£.	s.	d.
ed before the passing this act to	2,201,171	10	0
Which was now doubled	2,201,171	10	0
	4,402,343	0	0

And by the 400,000l. now farther advanced — — —

400,000	0	0
4,802,343	0	0

The whole was now at six per cent. interest. In consideration of which sum of 400,000l. so lent, without any additional interest, their exclusive privileges as a Bank, were prolonged to one year's notice, after the first day of August 1732. By the same statute, the Bank obliged themselves to pay off and cancel all the Exchequer bills which had been before issued, amounting with their interest at six per cent to

1,775,027	17	10½
The total capital of the Bank by this act was	6,577,370	17 10 ½
Vol. III.	L 1	About

About the same time, the French court formed a project for a Royal Bank, probably the design was suggested by the establishment of this in England, for the circulating of their mint-bills; but the great scarcity of money at that time in France, rendered the design impracticable.

Whilst the British legislature were adopting measures for the vigorous prosecution of the war, the French King renewed his overtures for restoring tranquillity to Europe. The rout at Oudenarde, the taking of Lisle, a famine in his kingdom, the consequent deficiency in the revenue, the general discontents of the people, and the contests between his servants, forced Lewis XIV. to offer terms of peace, at once suitable to the melancholy situation of his own affairs, and proportionable to the success of the allies. At length prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, who had managed the war with such astonishing success, were fully empowered by the emperor and the queen of Great Britain, in conjunction with the republic of Holland, to treat with the ministers of France, and to settle the terms of peace. They arrived for that purpose at the Hague, in the beginning of the month of April. These two generals, and Heinsius, the pensionary of Holland, formed a triumvirate, on whom the grand confederacy, and consequently the fate of Europe depended. To these however, what was said of a great man in familiar circumstances in our own times*, might be applied, "that they who had been the means of spreading the flame were the most unfit persons to be employed in putting out the fire." The two generals having gained so many battles, and succeeded in all their arduous and important undertakings, had acquired the confidence

* Mr. Pitt.

of the allies, in proportion as they had excited terror in the enemy. Heinsius had been the depository of king Williams secrets; he had been raised by that prince to the place of first minister, and had the good fortune to have preserved the authority, which he had received, by being the chain that united the States with the grand confederacy formed by his late patron against the house of Bourbon. Each of the three negotiators seemed to have had a personal interest in opposing the peace. The duke of Marlborough was influenced thereto by the hope of gathering fresh laurels, as well as from the meaner motive of acquiring wealth: prince Eugene being a soldier of fortune, had nothing to do with tranquillity, as generals are then laid aside to rust with their swords *. Still, however, they durst not openly avow their disinclination to peace. Prince Eugene insisted, that the entire cession of the Spanish monarchy should be an indispensable preliminary to the treaty; Marlborough at the same time took care to circulate a suspicion that the court of Versailles was not sincere in her professions, and only aimed at amusing and deceiving the allies. The well known propensity of that court to chicanery and subterfuge, procured a ready credence to such an opinion, notwithstanding the miseries which had overspread that kingdom, were the fullest attestations of her extorted sincerity. Despair was diffused through the nation; every quarter of Europe beheld the disgraces and downfall of France. The confederates, being in possession of Lille, threatened to penetrate into the heart of the kingdom. The same king, who had brought the republic of Holland to the brink of destruction in a single campaign, and who but a few years before had carried his arms to the banks

Macpherson's History of England, Vol. II. p. 410.

of the Danube, the Po, and the Tagus, now trembled for the safety of his capital. The name of Malborough became as dreadful to the Parisians, as our Edwards and Henrys had been to their forefathers. In this state of affairs, the marquis de Torci was sent to Holland, with powers to put an end upon the most humiliating terms, to a war, that even threatened the destruction of the French monarchy, and Rouille the former minister was recalled. France agreed to yield the whole Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria without any equivalent. To cede her conquest on the empire, and upon the Upper Rhine: to give Furnes, Ypres, Menin, Tournay, Lille, Conde and Maubeuge for a barrier to Holland. To acknowledge the elector of Brandenburg as king of Prussia; the duke of Hanover as ninth elector of the empire; to own the title of queen Anne to the British throne; to remove the pretender from the dominions of France; to recognize the succession of the throne of Great Britain in the protestant line; to restore every thing to the duke of Savoy: and to agree to the concessions made to the king of Portugal by his treaty with the allies. The demolition of Dunkirk was farther insisted on in the conferences at the Hague, with M. de Torci, for settling the preliminaries of a general peace; and that minister shewed greater reluctance to consent to this, than to any other of the articles, alledging, that his master bought, and paid for this town and port, besides laying out immense sums upon it since; it provoked prince Eugene, that he told the French ministers, with great warmth, he wondered they could spend so many words about it, and that he thought rather to admire the generosity of a prince who, having it in her power to prescribe the harder terms, and force them to deliver that, & what other

other places she pleased, and revive other pretensions of the crown of England, gave an unparalleled example of her moderation. This had such an effect, that the point was immediately given up, and the following article makes the seventeenth of the preliminaries agreed on.

“ His most Christian majesty promises, to cause all the fortifications of the town of Dunkirk, the harbour, and rysbanck, and others depending on the same, without any exception, to be demolished at his own charges; so that one half of the fortifications be demolished, and one half of the harbour filled up within two months, and the other half of the said fortifications razed, and the other half of the said harbour filled up in two other months, the whole to the satisfaction of the queen of Great Britain, and the lords of the States-General of the United Provinces; and it shall never be allowed to re-establish the said fortifications, or render the harbour navigable, directly or indirectly.”

Such concessions were the best security for the permanent tranquillity of Europe, but they did not satisfy the allies. One fruitless conference followed another. At length Heinsius framed forty preliminary articles, which were to form the basis of a general peace. The plenipotentiaries on the side of France agreed to thirty-five of them, the rest were submitted to the decision of Louis, for which purpose the marquis de Torci repaired to Versailles. Ruined as the affairs of France were, that court had spirit enough to reject the proffered terms. In order to rouse the people from that torpor into which they had sunk, the court published an account of the negotiation, explaining their own concessions, and the haughty terms prescribed by the allies. The king himself wrote to all the governors of the provinces, stating the whole transaction, and feelingly rousing their indignation.

dignation. The spirit of the French nation was re-kindled, and their resentment added fresh fuel to the flames of war.

The operations at sea were not suspended by the negotiation carrying on at the Hague. In the month of November 1708, her majesty had conferred the post of rear-admiral of Great-Britain, (which had been vacant ever since the death of Sir Cloudesley Shovel,) on Sir John Leake, and at the same time paid him this signal compliment, "that she was put in mind of it by the voice of her people"*. Early in the spring lord Dursley was at sea with a squadron which cruised in the channel, and picked up several French prizes. His lordship when he had only four ships of the line with him, viz. the Kent, Plymouth, Monk, and Litchfield, fell in with M. de Gui Trouin's squadron, consisting of eleven men of war, twelve leagues S. W. of Scilly. It being then three o'clock in the morning, and their lights being seen, his lordship made the signal for wearing, which was obeyed, and the whole squadron, the weather being dark, got clear of the enemy. On the second day of March (eight days after this) captain Tollet in the Assurance, of seventy guns, with the Hampshire and Assistance of fifty guns each, having the trade from Kinsale to the port of London under convoy, came up with four sail of this fleet, about eight leagues S. S. W. of the Lizard. The French commodore in a ship of seventy guns ranged along the larboard side of the Assurance, when the two ships engaged yard arm and yard arm for the space of half an hour; in which time the small shot from the French did great execution among the sailors and marines that were quartered on deck. The Assurance on her

* London Gazette, No. 4481.

part fired her upper and part of her lower deck guns so effectually, that she obliged the enemy to sheer off, the other three ships, which were of forty or fifty guns, then passed the Assurance, firing several broadsides into her, after which they bore away to join their commodore. The Assurance having thus sustained all the weight of the action, was reduced to a very shattered condition, both in her rigging and hull, to repair which, as far as possible, the utmost dispatch was used, and the three ships bore down to defend the merchantmen. On their approach the French ships bore away, but not before they had picked up five of the merchantmen. Captain Tollet had been four months sick, but when the French ships appeared, was put in a chair, and carried upon deck, and received a wound in the action; his first lieutenant was shot in the leg, which wound he got dressed, and immediately returned upon deck; the second lieutenant was killed, together with twenty-five common men, and fifty-three wounded, some of whom afterwards died. The Hampshire had only two killed and eleven wounded; the Assistance eight killed and twenty-one wounded, among whom was captain Tudor her commander, who died of his wounds. The French suffered severely, although their exact loss cannot be ascertained. Lord Dursley shortly after escorted the Lisbon fleet of merchantmen out of the channel, which he had no sooner parted with than he discovered the Achilles, the ship which M. Tourin was aboard, with the Glory, which had the day before taken the Bristol man of war of fifty guns. His lordship immediately gave them chase, recovered the Bristol, which, by a shot in her bread-room, sunk soon afterwards; but all the men, except twenty, were saved. The Achilles, much shattered, escaped by her sailing, but the Le Glorie, a French

a French man of war of forty-four guns and three hundred and twelve men, was taken; his lordship having about seventy men killed and wounded in the action. On the 26th of April two small ships were taken, and on the 7th of May a privateer, carrying fourteen guns, and an hundred men; but the provisions through all the ships then growing very short, his lordship found it necessary to return to Plymouth on the 13th with his squadron, which then consisted of one third, and seven fourth rates, and there received the unwelcome news, that her majesty's ship the Sweepstakes, of thirty-two guns, had been taken by two French privateers, each of which was of greater force than that frigate*.

On the 18th day of May an engagement happened which did great honour to English valour and conduct. Captain Walter Riddel, in the Fal-mouth, a fifty gun ship, in convoying some New England ships laden with masts, was attacked twenty four leagues off Scilly, by four French men of war, the largest of which, a sixty gun ship, attempted to board him, which captain Riddel anticipated by filling his head-sails, and laying her on board, under her bowsprit directly athwart-hause, in which situation he raked her fore and aft with his cannon. The two ships continued in this position an hour and an half, during which time many of the Fal-mouth's crew boarded the Frenchman, but they were bravely repulsed, that ship having a much greater number of hands on board. The French

* London Gazette, No. 4531. All our public accounts call the French man of war taken in this engagement, *Le Glorie*; but it appears from the French writers, that the true name of it was, *Le Gloireux*. In the account published by the Admiralty, it appears, that the Bristol, captain Gore, was taken in her passage from Plymouth to Lisbon, after a very warm dispute, in which she had seventy men killed and wounded. The French man of war was taken by captain Thomas Matthews, of whom we shall have occasion to say much in the sequel.

commodore

commodore at length grew tired of this close contest, and after having endeavoured to destroy the Falmouth's sails and rigging, disengaged herself, and made after the merchantmen. Captain Riddel however made shift to follow him with such expedition, as secured the whole fleet, which he brought safe into Plymouth. In this action the Falmouth had thirteen men killed, and fifty-six wounded. The captain himself received a wound in the right leg, and had several other hurts, his second lieutenant, and a volunteer named Lawson, were shot through the body. The Falmouth had twenty thousand pounds New England money on board her at the time of the engagement*.

Before we proceed to the Mediterranean, which was as usual the scene of action for the grand fleet, we must follow Sir George Byng in his voyage from England thither, in order to take the command. A treaty of marriage had been concluded between the arch-duchess Mary Ann of Austria, sister to the emperor Joseph, and the king of Portugal. In the latter end of the year 1708, this princess having reached Holland, was conducted to England by a British fleet commanded by rear-admiral Baker, and on the 25th day of September she landed at Portsmouth. On the 6th day of October she went on board the Royal Anne, Sir George Byng's ship, and arrived at Lisbon on the 16th day of the same month. Here the admiral continued until the 27th day of December, when leaving Sir John Jennings he sailed for the Mediterranean, with six ships of the line, two fire ships, and three other vessels, having sent two third rates, two fourths, and a fifth before him to Alicant, to acquaint the governor of the castle there

* London Gazette, No. 4845.

of his speedy approach. On the 21st day of January he arrived at Port Mahon, where he found himself greatly embarrassed for want of naval stores. Sir Edward Whitaker, who was then on the coast of Italy, arrived about the middle of March, with about three thousand five hundred troops, which enabled the admiral, in conjunction with general Stanhope, to attempt the relief of Alicanti, then closely besieged by the chevalier d'Alsfeldt, at the head of twelve thousand men. This city and port is commanded by a strong castle, erected on a rock, at a small distance from the sea. It was garrisoned by two regiments, one of which was composed of French refugees, and was therefore called the French regiment, and major-general Richards defended the place. The city held out for a considerable time against a large train of heavy artillery, which was well served, but at length the garrison was compelled to retire into the castle, which had been deemed impregnable, until the bravery of English sailors mastered it in the year 1706. Here they sunk three cisterns, and then, with incredible labour, filled them with water. The French carried on the siege with vigour, but found it impossible to make any impression on a place which both art and nature had joined in securing. Still however determined not to relinquish their design, they resolved to attempt mining through the solid rock, in order at once to blow up the castle and its garrison into the air. The besieged were not at all alarmed at this undertaking, which they considered as utterly impracticable. It even supplied them with fresh hopes, as they believed it would retard the operations of the siege until the British fleet should arrive to their succour. Encouraged by these prospects, they bestirred themselves in annoying the workmen, and retarding their progress. The besiegers

siegers however wrought incessantly, and procured a number of peasants to assist in the labour. In three months such a fissure was made in the rock as their most experienced engineers pronounced equal to the tremendous purpose for which it had been hewn. One thousand five hundred barrels of powder were deposited therein, together with beams, iron bars and crows, which by stopping the expansion of the powder when fired, might render the concussion more violent. On the 20th day of March the garrison was summoned to surrender, and the most solemn assurances given them of being safely escorted to Barcelona, and their baggage and effects secured to them, if they surrendered in three days; the ruin that awaited them in case of an obstinate rejection of the honourable terms proposed was likewise represented in all its force. To convince them of the reality of their danger, the French general offered a safe conduct for some skilful persons who should be permitted to inspect the mine, and might make a faithful report of what would be the consequence of springing it. Two field-officers accepted this permission, and after they had fully inspected this repository of desolation, they reported to the governor, that in their opinion, the explosion would carry away the whole castle to the easternmost battery, unless it took vent through a mine which they themselves had dug, purposely to divert the force of this. The least mischief that it was likely to produce, would be to carry away the sea battery, the lodging rooms in the castle—close, some of the chambers cut for soldiers barracks; and the great cistern would be much affected*.

* Taubman's Memoirs of the British Fleets in the Mediterranean. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 117.

A general council of war was called to deliberate on the proper step to be taken at this crisis of their fate. A danger so imminent, to avert which, bravery, skill or address were alike ineffectual, would have fully warranted the surrender of the place; nor is it likely that this garrison would have had the hardiness to risk the consequences of springing the mine, if that deeply-rooted enmity that is occasioned by civil dissensions, founded on religious antipathies, had not made the French refugees who defended the place, spurn at the safety which their persecuting countrymen now proffered. Perhaps they doubted the sincerity of the offers which were made them, and chose rather to depend on the precarious direction which an explosion might take, than the solemn assurances of the besiegers. They unanimously resolved to commit themselves to the providence of God, and defend the place. This resolution was communicated to the French commander, who two nights after, again sent a flag, and endeavoured to divert them from their desperate purpose, offering the same honourable terms of capitulation as had been before tendered: but all in vain. The third night approached, when the French sent their third and last summons, and with it an assurance, that their mine was primed, and should be sprung by six o'clock the next morning. They remonstrated against the fatal obstinacy which caused them wilfully to seek their own destruction; still offering them the former terms of surrender: but nothing could shake the steady purpose of these determined men. At five o'clock, the next morning, as a prelude to this direful stroke, all the inhabitants of that quarter were ordered to quit their habitations. The besieged during the night had kept a general guard, and employed the time in religious exercises. Major-general Richards, colonel Sibourg, and

and lieutenant-colonel Thornicroft of Sir Charles Hotham's regiment, sat together in the governor's usual lodging room; other officers cantoned themselves as their tempers inclined them, to pass the dreary and presaging night.

At length, day appearing, the inhabitants were seen flying in crowds to the westernmost part of the town. The governor, attended by the principal officers, went to the west battery, to gain fuller information. After he had remained there about a quarter of an hour, lieutenant-colonel Thornicroft desired him to remove, as being unable to do any service there; he and colonel Sibourg both answered, that no danger was to be apprehended there, more than in any other place; and that there they would wait the event. The lieutenant-colonel resolving to share the fate of his superiors, continued there, as did other officers from the same motive: but the hour of five being now considerably past, the corporal's guard cried out, that the train was fired, observing some smok from the lighted matches, and other combustible matter near it, from whence the same ascended to the centinels above. The governor and field officers were then urged to retreat, but refused. The mine at last blew up; the rock opened and shut; the whole mountain felt the convulsion; the governor and field officers with their company, ten guns, and two mortars, were buried in the abyss; the walls of the castle shook, part of the great cistern fell, another cistern almost closed, and the rock shut a man to his neck in its cleft, who lived many hours in that agonizing posture. About thirty-six centinels, and women, were swallowed up in different quarters; whose dying groans were heard, some of them four days after the melancholy catastrophe. Many houses of the town were overwhelmed in their ruins, and the castle

castle suffered greatly; but was saved from total destruction by the vent which the explosion forced through the veins of the rock, and the countermine*. After the loss of the chief officers, the government devolved on lieutenant-colonel Dalbeume, of Si-bourg's regiment, who drew out a detachment of the whole garrison, and with it, made a desperate sally, to shew, that they were not appalled by this convulsive shock. The bombs from the castle played on the town more violently, and the shot-galled every corner of their streets; this vigorous defence was maintained till the arrival of the British fleet, a month afterwards, under the command of Sir George Byng; his ships were, the *Defiance*, *Northumberland*, *Essex*, *York*, and *Dunkirk*. The last went within the line in three and a half fathom; as drawing less water than the other; then laying her broadside to the east part of the town, began to cannonade a battery of four guns, and two others raised under the hill, each mounted with two guns, and from the mole-head, a forty-two pounder. The wind being fresh, and a great swell rolling in from the eastward, the large ships were obliged to weigh their anchors, and get out of cannon-shot. The *Dunkirk*, having much of her rigging damaged, and her small bower cut, lay exposed for some time to the shot, bombs, and carcasses of the enemy; but at length she got off.

The weather continuing very bad, and general Stanhope, who was aboard the fleet, finding the enemy increase considerably in strength, and supposing the garrison by this time to be driven to

* This major-general Richards, though an Englishman, was an officer in the king of Spain's service, and of the Romish religion; there perished, besides the officers already mentioned, five captains, three lieutenants, forty-two soldiers, all the miners, and about thirty peasants.

great

great extremities, sent a flag of truce to Chevalier d'Asfeldt with proposals for surrendering the castle, which were agreed to, and the garrison marching out with the honours of war, embarked on board the fleet *. No troops ever displayed a more inflexible firmness, and although the event was fatal to all the principal officers, yet the garrison in general, after enduring all these perils, instead of surrendering prisoners of war, only evacuated the place.

The Spanish and French historians, speak of this action with all imaginable regard to the gallant defence made by the besieged. The Chevalier d'Asfeldt was then in the French service, and looked upon as the very best officer that court ever sent to king Philip: he was an excellent engineer, and could distinguish at once between the difficult and the impracticable; and having formed a plan, pursued it with a steady and unwearied assiduity: under him commanded Don Pedro Ronquillo, a Spanish general of distinguished merit. D'Asfeldt contrived and directed the mine, Ronquillo raised and defended the entrenchments between the castle and the sea: each ably executed the arduous work he had undertaken. D'Asfeldt was very strict and austere; the Spaniards, even of his own party, thought him cruel; yet upon this occasion, he not only shewed himself generous but humane. After having, in vain, urged every argument to persuade the governor to surrender, he deplored his loss, and that of his brave associates, even with a tender affection. The Spaniards extolled this heroic conduct, and called the ruined castle, the monument of English courage †.

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 758.

† *Reflec. Milit. et Polit. par le Marq. de Santa Cruz*, Tom. VIII. p. 27. 88. *Mém. de M. de St. Philippe pour servir à l'Hist. d'Espagne*, Tom. II. p. 228.

Nothing

Nothing more of any importance happened in the Mediterranean this summer. Sir George Byng looked into Toulon, where he saw eight ships rigging, and one large man of war on the carreen, the rest being laid up. The incapacity and misconduct of Charles III. whilst it ruined his affairs in Spain, spread a languor over the operations of the fleet in the Mediterranean. Sir George Byng therefore resolved to return to England, where he arrived on the 25th of September, leaving Sir Edward Whitaker, with a pretty strong Squadron in the Mediterranean: that commander, in the bay of Roses, fell in with the grand convoy, intended for the French service in the Lamperdan, which consisted of forty large vessels laden with corn, and other provisions, of which he took thirty, and hindered the rest from putting to sea; by which the enemy was greatly distressed, and king Charles's army so happily supplied with provisions, as to be able to keep the field, which otherwise they could not have done*.

In his return from the Mediterranean, Sir George Byng procured an exact account of the strength, station, and designs of M. de Gui Trouvin, and sent an account of it to the lord high admiral, who immediately forwarded it to lord Dursley, who was just returned from a cruise. His lordship was instructed to annoy the enemy as much as possible, and to be particularly careful in protecting the homeward-bound West-India fleet, which Trouvin lay in wait for. On the 8th day of October his lordship sailed

* Some Dutch writers tell us, that admiral Whitaker, with fifteen sail of men of war, entered the bay of Roses, and destroyed fifty French ships, laden with corn. They add, that the admiral would have assisted his Catholic majesty, in reducing Roses, which would have left the enemy without a sea-port in Catalonia; but his advice was not followed, which was much to the prejudice of king Charles's affairs.—*Dr. Campbell.*

from

from Plymouth, with one third rate, and two fourths, having before detached captain Vincent with six ships to secure the West-India fleet, and soon after, his lordship joined that detachment, and thereby prevented the French from succeeding in their design. Three weeks after, his lordship fell in with the Barbadoes fleet, and having sufficiently strengthened their convoy, detached two frigates for intelligence, into the road of Brest, that he might be the better enabled to undertake farther service. While his lordship was thus employed, captain Hughes, in the Winchester, happened to chase a ship which proved to be a Dutch privateer, whose commander was required to strike his flag, but instead of paying that established respect to the flag of England, he fired both great and small shot into the Winchester, but being answered in the same manner, after an obstinate dispute (though it was known the Winchester was an English ship of war) the commanding officer was killed, and between thirty and forty of the Dutch seamen*.

In June this year, the Fowey frigate of thirty-two guns, fell in with two French ships of equal force, in the Mediterranean, to whom she was obliged to strike. On the 23d day of September, captain Hanway in the Plymouth of sixty guns, brought in the L'Adriat, a French man of war, mounting forty guns, and two hundred and sixty men. Captain Hanway had no more hands on board his ship capable of doing duty, than were able to work as many guns as the enemy mounted. The French commander, the Sieur Jacques Cashard, with fourteen officers and seamen were killed in the engage-

* The Dutch writers take no notice of this affair. The behaviour of captain Hughes, however, was not only right in itself, but so agreeable to lord Dursley, that soon after the admiral hoisted his flag on board his ship.

ment. The West-India fleet, the latter end of October, arriving within one hundred and fifty leagues of the Lizard, under convoy of five men of war, was overtaken by a violent storm, which dispersed and shattered the ships. The Hampshire and the Gloucester, two of the convoy, were afterwards met by M. du Gue Trouin's squadron, and although the force was extremely unequal, the English men of war made a brave defence, by which means the merchantmen escaped. At length, after a fight which lasted seven hours, the Gloucester, a sixty gun ship, and just rebuilt, was forced to strike, but the Hampshire beat the enemy off, and got safe into Port, in a very shattered condition. On Christmas day, the Solebay man of war, with eight merchant-ships under her convoy, bound to Lynn in Norfolk, were unfortunately cast away upon Bostonknock, and the crew of all the ships perished, except two boats full, which got safe ashore*.—Let us now slightly glance at the proceedings of the confederate army under the command of Marlborough and Eugene.

When the conferences at the Hague were ended, vigorous preparations were immediately made for prosecuting the war. On the 9th day of June the duke of Marlborough left the Hague, to take the command of the combined army in Flanders. Prince Eugene commanded under Marlborough. This army amounted to one hundred and ten thousand men, the army of France which was opposed to it, was commanded by Marshal Villars, and was somewhat less numerous.

Towards the latter end of June the campaign opened. Villars occupied a strong post, by which he covered the cities of Doway and Arras, the reducing of which barriers would have opened for

* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 130.

the

the allies a wide passage into the heart of France. To force the French general in his intrenchments was thought an enterprize of too great risk, Marlborough therefore by a hasty march sat down before Tournay.

This is one of the strongest and most ancient cities in Flanders. It had been for time immemorial subject to France, till it fell into the hands of Henry VIII. king of England, in the year 1513*. It was, however, restored five years after, through the intrigues and influence of Cardinal Wolsey, under the notion of a dower with the princess Mary, who was then an infant, but betrothed to the dauphin†. It afterwards remained in the hands of the French for a century, when it was taken by the Spaniards in 1618. Louis XIV. made himself master of it in 1667; when all the skill of Vauban was exerted to render it one of the strongest places in the Netherlands. This town was invested on the 27th day of June. Considerable draughts had been made from the garrison, which had encouraged the duke to attempt the siege. Sourville, the governor, was an able and active officer, but notwithstanding all his exertions the town surrendered, and the citadel soon after‡.

Marlborough then formed the design of besieging Mons, to prevent which Villars entrenched himself very strongly near the village of Malplaquet, about a league distant from that city. He fortified his camp with triple trenches, and barricadoed it with trees felled from the neighbouring woods, the spreading branches of which seemed to defy the approaches of an enemy. In spite of these precautions, the generals of the confederates resolved upon dislodging the French. On the 11th of September, early in

* See Vol. I. p. 254.
† 30th of July, 1709.

† Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. IV. p. 14.

the morning, being favoured by a thick fog, batteries were erected in the centre and on each wing. About eight o'clock the weather clearing up, the attack began, and the battle was maintained with the most desperate courage on both sides. The allies, after being several times repulsed, at length drove the French from their entrenchments, chiefly by the bravery of the prince of Orange, who had two horses killed under him, and by the valour of the English, headed by general Withers, the earl of Orkney, the duke of Argyle, and other young noblemen; but the French fought with such fury, that the victory cost the allies near eighteen thousand men.

In the heat of this action marshal Villars was wounded and carried off the field. Marshal de Boufflers who succeeded him in the command, sustained the fight with obstinacy. This battle was one of the most bloody, and perhaps the most singular, that had been fought for several ages. The allies remained masters of the field, but the French retreated in good order, with the loss of about eight thousand men. Mons surrendered soon after*, the possession of which was dearly purchased at the price of so many lives. Soon after, the operations of the campaign in Flanders were closed.

The events in the West-Indies are all the transactions in the year 1709, which remain to be spoken of.

Admiral Wager appointed captain Hutchins in the Portland, to cruise near Porto Bello. On the 3d of May he fell in with two French ships of fifty guns each, the Coventry, which had been taken from the English, and the Minion. Captain Hutchins engaged these ships two days, and having

* 20th of October, 1709.

killed

killed the first captain and wounded the second; on board the Coventry, made a great slaughter among her men, and brought her main-mast by the board, she struck. On board his own ship only nine were killed and twelve wounded. On board this prize were twenty thousand pieces of eight. The Minion her consort escaped, but having suffered much in the first engagement, she was supposed to have sent off much of her cargo on board the Coventry*. The Portland afterwards, in convoying a fleet of merchantmen through the windward passage, took a French ship near Cape St. Nicholas worth about six thousand pounds. Captain Vernon, also, of the Jersey, took a Spanish sloop laden with tobacco, and retook from two French sloops, a Guinea ship with four hundred negroes. Captain Hardy of the Roebuck, brought in a brigantine, partly laden with indigo, taken in at Petit Guaves, which he met on the north-side of Hispaniola, as she was going from thence to Port de Paix.

In the autumn, the rear-admiral was ordered home: whereupon he left captain Tudor Trevor in command of the men of war stationed at Jamaica. On his arrival in England he was received with great cordiality, the advices from the West-Indies expressing full satisfaction in the honour and vigilance of this gallant officer. As it was a very uncommon case for West-India planters and merchants to be satisfied with the commander stationed among them, their manner of expressing themselves concerning rear-admiral Wager, was the more acceptable to the admiralty; and, says Dr. Campbell, "clearly confutes a maxim held at a certain board, that it is impossible to satisfy the merchants at home, or the planters abroad†."

* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 132.
of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 134.

† Lives

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The earl of Pembroke, finding the office of lord high-admiral too arduous an employment for a mind engaged in the pursuit of science, and the study of antiquity*, resolved to assign the dignity to which he had so lately been restored, notwithstanding he had discharged the duties of that office to the general satisfaction of all parties. His lordship had refused a pension of three thousand pounds a year, when he quitted the admiralty department to make way for prince George of Denmark, at the accession of queen Anne, but it was now bestowed upon him. The queen hereupon made an offer of this post to the earl of Orford, who had for ten years been disengaged from public business. That nobleman declined the office of lord high-admiral, but was willing to accept a share in the direction of the admiralty. Her majesty therefore, in the beginning of the month of November, issued a commission, whereby she appointed Edward earl of Orford, Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, George Dodington, and Paul Methuen, esqrs. commissioners, for executing the office of lord high-admiral of Great Britain and Ireland. Soon after this alteration, there followed a promotion, viz. On the 12th of November, 1709, her majesty appointed Matthew Aylmer, esq; a gentleman who had been long laid aside, admiral, and commander in chief of her majesty's fleet; the lord Dursley, vice-admiral; and Charles Wager, esq; rear-admiral of the red. Sir John Jennings, admiral; Sir Edward Whitaker, vice-admiral of the white. And, Sir John Norris admiral; and John Baker, esq; vice-admiral of the blue†.

* His lordship collected those ancient Statues, which are still at Wilton, with many other remains of antiquity. † Complete History of Europe, for 1709, Pointer's Chronological History. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals.

On the 15th day of November*, the parliament met at Westminster. The queen, who on account of the death of the prince her husband, had not gone to the house on the preceding session, opened the present in person. In her speech she inveighed against the supposed duplicity of France; spoke of the principal events of the year, and asked for fresh supplies to maintain the war. Upwards of six millions were granted †. Towards raising of which, one million five hundred thousand pounds was provided by means of a lottery. These immense parliamentary grants astonished the French nation; for while their credit was entirely gone, ours was in its zenith. Hereupon Dr. Campbell makes the following judicious remark. "Without question, if ever our credit should fail, either in respect to money, or the reputation of our government, the French will gain as great an ascendancy over us, as we then had over them ‡."—This mode of reasoning has acquired strength by age, and NOW loudly calls for what is not likely to be attended to, a frugal expenditure of public money.

Thus far public measures were conducted smoothly, and no violent party heats impeded that system of foreign politics, which had been adopted through the war. But as the most important events are frequently produced by the most contemptible agents, so at this time a man started up to disturb the public peace, who by being quite destitute of talents, and a bigot to principles that were irrational and indefensible, was led to strike into the path of politics, which many a dull man besides him has chosen without being so fortunate as to acquire his celebrity. On the 5th of November, a day commemorated as the anniversary of the discovery of the popish plot, and the landing of

* 1709.
Vol. IV. p. 237.

† 6,124,446l. 7s.
note.

‡ Lives of the Admirals,

king

king William; Dr. Sacheverel preached a furious sermon against the Whigs, before the lord-mayor at St. Paul's, which he printed under the title of "The Petils of False Brethren, both in Church and State." In this sermon he strenuously asserted the high church notions of hereditary right, passive obedience, and non-resistance; gave an odious turn to the revolution, the protestant succession; the union, and the toleration granted to dissenters; recommended the persecution of them, and insinuated, that the church was in danger. It is impossible to express the ferment this raised in the nation. He was impeached by the commons at the bar of the upper house, and a day appointed for trying him before the lords at Westminster-hall. Mean while the Tories, who all approved his principles, were as violent in his defence, as the parliament in his prosecution. The eyes of the whole kingdom were turned upon this extraordinary trial, and the queen was every day present as a private spectator. This trial lasted several days, and vast multitudes constantly attended him as he went to the hall, and abused all that would not pull off their hats to him, and cry out for the church. They proceeded so far as to demolish several meeting-houses, and to make bonfires of the materials, with loud huzzas of "High Church and Sacheverel." The queen herself favoured his cause, as it contributed to the extension of her prerogative. On the 10th of March 1710, he was found guilty by the lords, and sentenced not to preach for three years, and his sermon to be burned by the common hangman. The lenity of this sentence was considered by the Tories as a victory. Indeed, if Harley and his confederates were not at the bottom of this affair, they certainly made their advantage of it: for, by their thus artfully applying to the queen's passion for the church, she soon became the easy property of

of the Tories, or rather of those who wanted to rule by their means.

While the proceedings against Sacheverel engrossed the attention of the nation, the French continued to solicit peace, and a fresh negotiation was opened at Gertruydenberg. He offered to acknowledge the archduke as king of Spain, to give no assistance to his grandson, but to leave him entirely to his own fortune; to give four cautionary towns, to deliver up Strasburg and Brisac, to renounce the sovereignty of Alsace, and only to keep the government thereof; to demolish all the forts between Bale and Philipsburg; to fill up the harbour of Dunkirk, and entirely erase the fortifications of that place, which had been formidable for a considerable time; to give up to the states-general Tournay, Ypres, Menin, Furnes, Condé and Maubeuge. The emperor and the queen of Great Britain left the Dutch to negotiate as they should think proper. Buys and Vander Duffel, two burgomasters, were deputed by the states. These republicans assumed all the dignity of conquerors, and treated the ministers of one of the most haughty monarchs with all that loftiness and contempt; with which the Dutch had been treated in the year 1672. The Dutch, now aimed at becoming lords of the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries, and to have ruled in Liege and Cologne. Thus it was they intended to aggrandise themselves even on the ruin of their allies. The French plenipotentiaries even went so far as to promise that the king their master should contribute money to dethrone his grandson Philip V. The Dutch negotiators, not content with that, insisted as one of the preliminaries, that Louis should engage to furnish an army for the purpose of establishing Charles III. on the throne of Spain. These conferences proved as ineffectual as the former; and

France began to see with pleasure the ferment which prevailed in Great Britain, and already formed hopes that a deliverance from the ruin which threatened her, would be brought about by those violent civil dissensions which debilitated her rival.

Meanwhile the operations of the campaign of 1710, being settled in the British cabinet, Sir Edward Whitaker was recalled from the Mediterranean, and vice-admiral Baker only continued there with a small squadron to protect the trade and assist the king of Spain, until a more considerable force should be sent out from England.

Admiral Aylmer put to sea with a considerable fleet, with which he cruised in the Channel, and escorted the outward-bound merchantmen out to sea. Whilst he was cruising about sixty-eight leagues south-west by west of the Lizard, he came in sight of a fleet of French merchantmen, under convoy of the *Superbe*, a French man of war of fifty-six guns, and the *Concord* of thirty. Soon after this intelligence had been received, the *Kent*, a seventy gun ship commanded by captain Robert Johnson, came up with and engaged the *Superbe*; the action continued very hot for an hour, the Frenchman having more men on board than the *Kent*, and the rest of the fleet being too far distant to afford any assistance. At length the *Superbe* struck; and as she was a new ship and a remarkable fast sailer, she proved a valuable acquisition. Another French man of war of fifty-six guns, called *Le Galliard*, was taken in the Mediterranean, by the *Suffolk*, captain Cleveland, of seventy guns, one of vice-admiral Baker's squadron.

The command of the fleet fitted out for the Mediterranean service was given to Sir John Norris, who sat sail about the middle of January, and arrived at Port Mahon on the 13th day of March.

He

He immediately dispatched three English, and two Dutch men of war to Barcelona, with money for the use of Charles; and to receive that prince's orders for the disposition of the fleet. Soon after the Pembroke of sixty-four guns, captain Rumsey, and the Faulcon thirty-two guns, captain Constable, in cruising to the southward of Nice, fell in with five French men of war. The Thoulouse, a seventy gun ship, first attacked the Pembroke, and in less than half an hour, two others, a sixty-six gun ship, and a fifty gun ship bore down upon her, and obliged her to strike, after which the Faulcon was likewise taken. Captain Rumsey was killed in the engagement, and one hundred and forty of the ship's company; her mizen-mast was brought by the board, and all her rigging torn to pieces before the officers agreed to surrender. Captain Constable in the Faulcon had a shot through his shoulder, notwithstanding which he never quitted the deck, neither would he strike his flag until he had only sixteen sound men remaining. In some measure to compensate for this loss, two English men of war, the Breda and Warspight took a French sixty gun ship called the Moor. Sir John Norris being at Leghorn, received certain advice that the duke de Turfis, a Genoese nobleman who commanded a fleet of gallies for the service of king Philip, had taken on board two thousand men, in order to make a descent on the island of Sardinia. In consequence of this, the admiral on the 1st day of June, detached four men of war to convoy some transports to Barcelona, with German recruits; also four English and four Dutch men of war to cruise in the heights of Toulon, for a fleet expected to arrive there from the Levant; with the rest of the confederate fleet he sailed to the assistance of Sardinia, having two imperial regiments on board. His arrival defeated the designs which had been formed on

that island. Those who were disaffected to the Austrian interest had taken arms on the arrival of the duke de Turfis on their coast; but on the 5th day of June the admiral entered the bay of Terra Nova, where he found four tartanes belonging to the enemy, which had landed four hundred men and sixty officers, under the command of the count de Castello. After securing these vessels, some forces were embarked to go in search of Castello's party, which they soon after came up with, and obliged them to surrender at discretion. The news of the arrival of the confederate fleet had occasioned Turfis to leave Sardinia precipitately, and take refuge in Ajaccio on the island of Corsica. Thither he was pursued, but he not thinking himself secure in that harbour, quitted it, leaving eight barks, with five hundred soldiers, and the greatest part of his ammunition, artillery, and provisions, imagining that the neutrality of the place would protect them, though he did not choose to risk the safety of his own person. However, Sir John Norris did not hesitate to seize all that he could find; and signified to the Republic of Genoa, that the queen of Great Britain his mistress, could not but express on all occasions the highest resentment against them, for having permitted one of their subjects, to prepare, in their dominions, such an armament, destined against one of the kingdoms belonging to the king of Spain her ally; and that, looking upon their permission, or connivance, as a breach of their neutrality, he would attack the queen's enemies in all their harbours. The Genoese governor, to whom these representations were made, answered with much submission; promised that he would not supply the duke, or any that belonged to him, with provisions; and most earnestly requested, that the admiral

admiral would not land any troops upon the island. Sir John Norris, sensible that it would be to very little purpose to follow the enemy to the mountains, desisted, and sailed immediately for Barcelona, where he arrived on the 18th of June; and the king of Spain, desiring that part of the troops might be landed in Valencia, and that the fleet might be as soon as possible at Terragona, it was resolved to sail thither directly, and to leave orders for vice-admiral Baker to follow..

The Cevennois being still in arms against the French king, a design was formed to assist them, by making a descent on the coast of Languedoc. The troops embarked on board the fleet for this expedition, consisted of colonel Stanhope's regiment, and about three hundred men from Port Mahon, which force was commanded by major-general Seiffan, a native of Languedoc. On the ninth day of July, the confederate fleet, under Sir John Norris and the Dutch admiral Somelsdyke, sailed from Barcelona. They arrived on the 13th before the town of Cette. Some ships were directed to batter the fort at the Mole-head, upon which the inhabitants retired to the church; and soon after both town and fort surrendered. The adjacent town of Adge surrendered the next day, but the want of a sufficient force to preserve and improve these advantages soon appeared. On the 17th, advice was received, that the duke de Roquelaure was advancing with four hundred dragoons and four thousand militia, to recover the two towns. All the boats of the fleet were hereupon manned, and sent to oppose the enemy, whilst the land forces marched to meet them, which obliged the French general to return to Mezé. The duke de Noailles, who was at Rouffillon, when news of the descent arrived, immediately marched with two thousand dragoons, having each a foot soldier behind, to

to oppose the invaders. Adge was immediately surrendered, and Certe soon after, and the land forces reembarked on board the fleet.

The combined fleet quitted Certe on the 19th, and appeared before Marseilles and Toulon. Standing into the road of Hierres, a French fly boat was discovered carrying fifty guns, under three forts, upon the island of Port-croix; some English and Dutch frigates were immediately dispatched, under the command of captain Stepney, to attack both the ship and the fortresses. This service was performed with great spirit; and in a short time the ship was abandoned, as well as the lowest of the three forts. The boats then rowed eagerly to board the vessel; but as soon as the men had entered, the French set fire to a train of powder, which had been laid for that purpose, which blew up thirty-five seamen, many of whom were killed, and the rest wounded. Thus ended the operations of the fleet in the Mediterranean, for the year 1710.

In Spain many important events turned up in the course of this campaign. The beginning of May, Philip V. took the field, with an army composed entirely of Spaniards. As the French king could no longer assist his grandson, he had been obliged to do in part what his enemies had demanded at Gertruydenberg, to abandon the cause of Philip, by ordering his troops from Spain to his own defence. Philip was likewise deprived of a general as well as troops from France. The duke of Orleans, by whom his tottering condition had been somewhat recovered, instead of continuing to command his armies, was become his enemy. He even entertained hopes of supplanting him in the crown. The marquis de Bay commanded for Philip, whose army was formed on the borders of Catalonia, near Lerida. Count Staremberg was at the head of king Charles's troops. The two armies directed their route to Almenara, and came

came to a battle in the neighbourhood of that place. Each side charged with great impetuosity, but Philip's cavalry first began to give way, and his infantry was soon after routed; so that he was obliged to abandon his artillery, and a great part of his baggage *. Philip soon after passed the Cinca, and proceeded towards Saragossa; he was followed by Straremburg; and another action happened, in which the Spaniards that fought for Philip were again defeated, and three thousand were slain †; the vanquished retired to Tudela, in the kingdom of Navarre, leaving the route to Madrid entirely open. In this action the British troops under general Stanhope acquired great honour. It was remarked, that neither of the two princes who disputed the crown of Spain, was present at the battle, though both were within reach of their respective armies.

Philip was now obliged a second time to resign his capital to his rival; he therefore retired to Valladolid. The religious enthusiasm of the Spaniards, together with a rooted aversion to the house of Austria, by whom they had been oppressed for near two centuries, was of greater service to the cause of Philip, than their arms. They considered Charles III. as a prince imposed on them by heretics; and their attachment to his rival rose in proportion to his misfortunes. General Stanhope, who had possessed himself of Madrid, was better calculated to defeat an enemy, than to gain the affections of the vanquished. The army lived at large upon the people, without order, without moderation, and without discipline. They raised contributions on private persons; they pillaged the churches, and sold publicly the utensils of the altar. The ravages of the allies combining with the obstinacy

* July 27, 1710.

† August 20, 1710.

of the Spaniards, created such a dearth of provisions in Castile, that seventeen thousand men, the number of which the victors consisted, found themselves incapable of subsisting in the heart of the kingdom*.

In this desperate state of Phillips's affairs, the Spanish nobility who adhered to his cause, sensible that these misfortunes were occasioned by the army wanting a commander who was capable of acting against Stauremberg, wrote in a body to Louis the Fourteenth, entreating he would send them the duke de Vendome. That general, who ever since the close of the campaign of 1708, had quitted all public business†, accepted the flattering invitation, and immediately set out for Spain. His presence gave a new turn to affairs in that kingdom. He was the idol of the soldiers; his influence therefore presently procured a considerable army to be assembled; to provide for which, the whole kingdom cheerfully contributed free gifts. Vendome knew very well how to avail himself of the ardour which he had excited; he drove the conquerors from the capital, and replaced the fugitive king. A large reinforcement of French troops arrived from the duke of Berwick in Dauphiny, so that his army before the end of October, amounted to thirty thousand men. Another body of French troops, under the duke de Noailles, which were assembled in Roussillon, and had already defeated the designs of the confederate fleet, in support of the Cervannois, were now ready to enter Catalonia. So entirely was the posture of affairs in Spain inverted, in the course of a few weeks, that the allied army under Stauremberg, was obliged to retreat towards Portugal, whilst general Stanhope, with five thousand British troops, marched towards Catalonia. The

* Macpherson's History of England, Vol. II. p. 44.
Page 253.

† See

latter

latter stopped, on the 8th day of December, at a small unfortified town called Briheuga in New Castile, where he reposed himself in full security. The vigilance of Vendome pursued him thither: the town was suddenly invested; all hopes of escape were cut off, before any danger was perceived. Stanhope did every thing that a brave officer could do, but resistance was in vain, he and his army were obliged to surrender prisoners at discretion*. The count de Staremberg, apprized of the danger that threatened Stanhope, put his whole army in full march to his relief, but he arrived too late: instead of extricating the British troops from the force that surrounded them, he found himself reduced to the necessity of fighting the French general under very great disadvantages. The duke de Vendome came up with the allies at Villaviciosa, about two leagues from the place of Stanhope's misfortune. A desperate action ensued†. Night at length parted the combatants. The allies retreated, leaving behind them twenty pieces of cannon, two mortars, and some waggons of provisions and ammunition; they had three thousand slain in the fight, and an equal number made prisoners. In Catalonia, the duke de Noailles made some progress, and the marquis de Bay who commanded in Estramadura, not only hindered the junction of the Portuguese troops with the count de Staremberg, but extended his ravages and contributions into the very heart of the kingdom of Portugal.

On the side of Flanders the campaign opened about the middle of April. The duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene having assembled the con-

* This dishonour cast on the British arms stood single and alone, until the unhappy convention of Saratoga in 1777 produced a catastrophe equally fatal to national honour, though perhaps attended with circumstances which served more fully to exculpate the conduct of the commander in chief.

† December 12, 1710.

federate army near Tournay. In the beginning of May, they invested Douay, by which step the two generals shewed that they chose rather to secure their conquests in Flanders than to carry the seat of war into the kingdom of France. Almost two months were employed in this siege, marshal Villars, who commanded the French army, remained during that time an inactive spectator of its progress although the loss of that barrier was a heavy blow to the interests of France; yet the loss of a battle would have endangered the fall of the state, and a victory over Marlborough was an achievement not to be hoped for from the ill-fated arms of France. After the reduction of Douay, the confederates took Bethune, St. Venant, and Aire *, and with these acquisitions the campaign terminated; in which they lost twenty-six thousand men. The French found means to cut off a convoy with military stores, which was conveyed in boats up the Eys, and commanded by the earl of Athlone. His lordship made a resolute defence; but at length the body of infantry, which he commanded, amounting to about one thousand men, was cut to pieces, and his cavalry entirely dispersed, after which the boats and stores were taken. The French removed as much as could be conveyed away to Ypres, which having secured, they set fire to the magazine of powder, which produced so violent an explosion that some neighbouring villages were overturned.

On the banks of the Rhine, languor and inactivity prevailed. The force which the French maintained there was reduced by the necessary draughts made to strengthen the army in Flanders, where the weight of the war lay. The Imperialists, however, were not disposed to avail themselves of the advantages

* August 19, September 19, November 9.

which

which this condition of the French army held forth to them. The elector of Hanover who had commanded the army of the empire with great credit to himself, was now become tired of a post, in which he was unable to overcome that sluggishness and inactivity, which prevailed in the councils at Vienna, and had imparted a portion of the same spirit through the whole army; he therefore declined a command from which nothing was to be expected but disgrace. The war on the side of Savoy produced no action of any importance. Count Thaurin had succeeded the duke of Savoy in the command. He was opposed on the side of France by the duke of Berwick, whose admirable conduct supplied the want of an equal force.

While these undecisive events happened abroad, the most violent party animosities distracted the kingdom. Hitherto the duke of Marlborough's influence, both over his sovereign and the nation, had been unbounded. His duchess, who was the inseparable attendant on the queen, and her bosom confidante, was ever watchful to serve the interests of the duke her husband, the brilliancy of whose successes had gained him the entire confidence of the Whigs: he had the treasury at his command, by means of Godolphin, the lord high treasurer, whose son had married lady Henrietta Churchill, the duke's eldest daughter: in the council he had an equal weight, by means of the earl of Sunderland, who had married the lady Anne, the duke's second daughter, and who was secretary of state. We have already taken notice of a rival to the duchess of Marlborough, which started up in the person of Mrs. Masham. The duchess had so long enjoyed the royal favour, that she seemed to lay claim to it by a kind of prescriptive right. The fate of nations is frequently decided by a trivial circumstance: some gloves of a particular make, which the duchess refused the queen, and a basin of water which she with affected carelessness let fall, in her majesty's presence,

on lady Masham's gown, gave a turn to the affairs of Europe. Harley, who secretly fomented this misunderstanding, was sensible that it was not enough for the queen's mind to be alienated from her former attachments, the disposition of the nation must likewise be changed. Among the writers of the Tory faction, were many men of the first rank in literary merit; these displayed the avarice of the duke of Marlborough, and the self-interested conduct of the Dutch: they insisted, that while England was exhausting her strength in foreign conquests, she was losing her liberty at home: that her ministers were not content with sharing the plunder of the state, but were resolved upon destroying its liberties also. The Tories every where spread the opinion that the church of England was in danger from the dissenters and men of levelling principles. These notions, which had been propagated ever since the beginning of the present reign, now gained ground amazingly, by means of the ecclesiastical demagogue Sacheverel.

Soon after the trial of that incendiary was over, the duke of Shrewsbury, who had distinguished himself on that occasion, in the debates against the ministry, was appointed chamberlain, in the room of the earl of Kent, who had resigned that office upon his being raised to the dignity of a duke. This promotion was considered as a prelude to the fall of the ministry. The seals were next taken from the earl of Sunderland*.

A late writer asserts, that when the duke of Marlborough saw the storm gathered, and ready to break on him and his adherents, he set on foot a secret correspondence with his nephew the duke of Berwick, in order to procure for the Chevalier de St. George, the succession to the throne of Great Britain†;

* June 14, 1710.
papers, Vol. II. p. 151.

† Stuart Papers 1710, in Macpherson's State

and

and upon the authorities which he adduces, that charge must rest.

On the 8th day of August the earl of Godolphin was removed from the head of the treasury; and that high office was held by commission, the earl Powlet being constituted the chief at the board. At the same time Harley was made chancellor of the exchequer, and was in fact the chief spring of action to the new ministry. On the 21st day of September Lord Somers was dismissed from the presidency of the council; and was succeeded by the earl of Rochester, maternal uncle to the queen. Boyle, the other secretary of state was succeeded by St. John, formerly secretary of war. The duke of Devonshire quitted his place of lord-steward of the household, to make way for the duke of Buckingham: the earl of Orford, who had been but lately appointed first lord of the admiralty resigned his employment. The great seal, upon the resignation of the lord chancellor Cowper, was given to Sir Simon Harcourt, and the lord lieutenancy of Ireland to the duke of Ormond, upon the resignation of the duke of Wharton; only the duke of Marlborough was retained; which he owed to his own real consequence, and the great share of popularity which he possessed, not to any regard which the queen continued to have for him*. The admiralty

* If the charges brought against the duke of Marlborough of secretly wishing to restore the pretender to the sovereignty of Great Britain are well founded, the duplicity of this statesman will appear very evident from the following letter which he wrote to the elector of Hanover, afterwards king George the First.

S I R,

August 30, 1710.

"I AM not able to express to your electoral highness how truly sensible I am of the great marks of confidence which you did me the honour of giving to me by general Bulau. I intreat your highness to be persuaded that I shall endeavour to deserve them, by an inviolable attachment to your interests, with which I consider those of my country and of Europe as inseparably connected. I hope there never will be found in England, a considerable number of men who can be seduced to a degree capable of ruining it, by allowing themselves to be imposed upon



ready commissioners appointed on the resignation of the earl of Orford, were Sir John Laake, Sir George Byng, Sir James Withart, general Clarke, and John Addislar, Esqrs *. The revolution itself, it was justly observed,

upon by the artificers of Mr. Harley and others, who conduct themselves, at present, in a manner to leave it no longer a doubt, that their views tend to bring back the pretended prince of Wales.

We feel but too much already the effects of their bad intentions, by the change of my lord treasurer; this step having ruined our credit in the kingdom; and having lost us the confidence of our best allies. I desire, with great impatience, to converse with the baron de Bothmar; and I flatter myself that your electoral highness does me the justice to believe, that I shall act, in all things, after the manner which you will judge most conducive to your interest. I shall give to the baron de Bothmar, all the lights and explanations which I can, to assist him in the execution of his important commission; in which I shall ever co-operate with him, as soon as I shall return to England, whether I shall repair, as soon as the operations of the campaign will permit me, with any appearance of decency. I hope to be able then to employ usefully my attentions, my credit, and my friends, for advancing the interest of your Electoral Highness, and of your serene family; and for preventing, at the same time, the pernicious designs of those men, who wish to establish principles, and to form cabals and projects which will infallibly overturn the protestant succession, and with it, the safety and liberty of their country, and of all Europe. I am, with a profound respect, &c &c.

The answer which the Elector returned to this very courtly Epistle, is as follows:

My Lord,

Herrnhäusen, Sept. 2, 1714.

"I AM very much obliged to you for your letter of the 30th of August, which was filled with such strong testimonies of zeal and attachment to my interests, that I cannot but be very sensible of them. I am likewise very grateful for your offer of assisting the baron de Bothmar, during his stay at London, with your good advices; for which he will have all the deference which is due to a person whose great understanding and good intentions are equally known to me. He will do every thing in his power to have the honour of seeing you before he passes the sea; and perhaps he will pass it along with you, it being very proper that he should remain here, until I am informed of the proposals which my lord Rivers will have to make me.

I hope that nothing will be capable of inducing the Queen to take the command of her armies from a general who acquitted himself in it with so much glory and so much success, and in whose hands I shall always see it with pleasure; being very sincerely, &c &c."

† Macpherson's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 187, Vol. II. p. 191.

† Idem,

* About this time died Mr. George Churchill, brother to the duke of Marlborough. He was born in 1652, and was early trained to the sea service. The duke of York, who was then at the head of the navy department, had some

observed, had not made such a total change among the servants of the crown.

On the 21st day of September the parliament was dissolved. The elections were carried on every where

some peculiar motives for advancing this young man, in the line of his profession, so that he obtained the command of a man of war before he had reached thirty years of age. His preferment did not cease with the revolution, for soon after he was appointed captain of a third rate, and commanded the *St. Andrew* in the famous battle off *La Hogue*, where he behaved very gallantly. But soon after he quitted the service in disgust; and continued unemployed until the year 1699, when he was appointed one of the commissioners of the admiralty, on the resignation of the earl of Orford; in which post he continued until the earl of Pembroke was declared high-admiral. On the accession of queen Anne, he was appointed one of the council to assist prince George of Denmark in his office of lord high-admiral, and was likewise made admiral of the blue. Whilst he continued to sit at the admiralty board, he was considered as the chief conductor of the business transacted there, and the inattention which was shewn to the interests of the merchants, by neglecting to protect the trade of the nation from the depredations of French cruizers, rendered him extremely unpopular, and his haughty deportment did not a little tend to increase this general dislike.

His royal highness dying on the 28th of October 1708, the commission which empowered his council to act, naturally determined, and thenceforward admiral Churchill led a private life, at a pleasant villa in *Windsor-Park*, where he collected the finest aviary that was ever seen in Britain. This collection of birds, at his decease, he left to his two intimate friends and patrons, James duke of Ormond, and Arthur earl of Torrington. He was never married, but dying in very good circumstances, he left the best part of his fortune to a natural son. He deceased on the 9th of May 1710, in the 58th year of his age, and was buried with great funeral solemnity in the south isle of *Westminster-Abbey*, where a beautiful monument has been erected to his memory, with an elegant Latin inscription.

with

with unusual violence and noise. The mob, encouraged by the new ministry and the Tories, became outrageous in the cities and boroughs. The general cry was raised so effectually against the Whigs, that they were excluded, wherever the votes depended either on the inclinations or the caprice of the populace. The new parliament assembled at Westminster on the 25th day of November, and on the 27th chose for their speaker a Mr. William Bromley, who was distinguished for his attachment to the high church party. The queen, in her speech from the throne, recommended the carrying on the war in very strong terms, and the commons, in their address, assured her majesty of their support. Accordingly, on the 5th of December, they voted forty thousand men for the sea-service, for the year 1711, and one hundred and twenty thousand pound for the ordinary of the navy; on the 10th of February they voted the sum of five million one hundred and thirty thousand five hundred and thirty-nine pounds five shillings and six-pence for the payment of the debts of the navy, and for services performed by them on account of land-forces to Michaelmas 1710; exclusive of the register-office; and on the 20th of the said month, they resolved, that one hundred and three thousand and three pounds eleven shillings and four-pence be granted for the use of such proprietors, or inhabitants only, of Nevis, and St. Christopher's, who were sufferers by the French invasion, and who have settled, or shall re-settle in those islands*. So that the debts provided for, and the sums raised in the course of this session, amounted to upwards of fourteen millions and a half †. Over and above these immense grants, the commons voted to the queen an extraordinary supply of five hundred

* Votes of the House of Commons. Chandler's debates.
† 14,573,319 l. 19 s. 3½.

thousand

thousand pounds, for the re-establishing the affairs of Spain and Portugal; four hundred and fifty thousand pounds for giving currency to exchequer bills; near three hundred thousand pounds for the extraordinary contingencies of the war; three hundred and fifty thousand pounds for building new churches; and nine thousand three hundred and seventy-five pounds, being a subsidy due by the late king William to the elector of Hanover.

The former parliament had taken into consideration the proceedings of the Mine-adventurer's Company, in consequence of a petition preferred by the proprietors and creditors. In the year 1704, queen Anne had granted a charter of incorporation to several noblemen, gentlemen, and eminent citizens of London, for the working and managing of mines and minerals, and smelting, refining, and manufacturing the same. Of this company the duke of Leeds was chosen governor, and Sir Humphry Mackworth deputy governor, for life; to the latter of whom the conduct of the undertaking was entirely entrusted. After the scheme had been conducted for a few years with the most ostentatious parade of success, whilst profusion and mismanagement secretly involved the undertaking in immense debts, the company were obliged to stop payment of their sealed bills and cash notes. It appeared to the committee of the house of commons appointed to enquire into the causes of this failure, that the company had lost eighty-eight thousand pounds by banking, and that other large sums had been squandered away upon ruinous projects which Sir Humphry had started. The house hereupon unanimously passed a vote of censure on the deputy governor, and others concerned with him in these male-practices, and ordered in a bill to prevent their leaving the kingdom, or alienating their estates. But when the proceedings

against these delinquents ought to have been resumed by the new parliament, Sir Humphry being a warm retainer to high-church and toryism, his misconduct was overlooked, and the proceedings against him were dropped.

In consequence of an act passed, for the better securing her majesty's docks, ships of war, and stores, commissioners were appointed to treat for the purchase of such lands as should be judged proper for the better fortifying of Portsmouth, Chatham, and Harwich; and proper juries were to be summoned, to ascertain the just value of such lands as should be wanted. This plan has been since farther extended to Plymouth and Milford-Haven; and greater quantities of ground have been purchased, for extending and improving the fortifications of Portsmouth, Chatham, and Plymouth; the fortifications of which, however, are still thought to be capable of essential improvement.

The foundation of the present wealth and consequence of the town of Liverpool was laid about this time, by an act of parliament, which enabled the corporation to place proper land-marks, buoys, and other directions in the port, for the safety of shipping, and to construct a convenient wet dock, or basin, therein; to effect which, a duty was laid on the tonnage of all ships trading to and from that port, which was to continue for twenty-one years. This impost has been found fully to answer the ends proposed thereby; every thing conducive to the safety and accommodation of shipping having been completed, to the great emolument of that flourishing town.

No sooner were the new ministry formed, than the association had well nigh been broken, by the death of their leader Harley. The Abbé de la Bourlie, a Frenchman, who had assumed the title of marquis de Guiscard,

Guiscard, and had fled his country for atrocious crimes, found means to gain the confidence of some men in power, and as we have already shewn *, had set on foot an expedition to the coast of France; which, however, was laid aside as impracticable, as soon as it was undertaken. This pretended marquis had the address to obtain the command of a regiment, which having been cut off in the battle of Almanza, his pay as colonel soon after ceased. He thereupon applied to the ministry for a pension: his chief patron had all along been Mr. Henry St. John, to whom he recommended himself by a sympathetic profligacy. Mr. Harley exerted his influence to prevent this desperate adventurer receiving any countenance from the crown. Bourlie, disappointed in his expectations, resolved to repair his ruined fortunes by betraying the secrets of the British cabinet to the court of France. His treasonable correspondence was soon discovered, and his letters transmitted to Mr. Harley. As the friendships between bad men are generally short-lived, so that between St. John and Guiscard had, by this time, converted into an implacable enmity. The traitor was apprehended upon a warrant from the secretary of state, and brought for examination before the council-board. Guiscard, conscious of his crime, and abandoned to despair by the glaring proof which was produced, requested to speak in private with Mr. St. John; but the secretary apprehending danger, from the wild gestures of the prisoner, refused to comply. Being thus disappointed of his intended revenge upon his former friend, he made up to Mr. Harley, and having taken a penknife unobserved, struck it into his breast with such violence, that the point coming upon the bone, the blade broke short off near the handle.

* Page 177.

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The villain, not attending to this circumstance, redoubled his blows. St. John, starting from his chair at this assault, drew his sword, and wounded the assassin in several places; whilst the attendants, who were waiting without, hearing the uproar, hurried in, and securing Guiscard, conveyed him to Newgate, where he soon after died. The wound which Mr. Harley received proved of little consequence, whilst the danger he had so narrowly escaped led his sovereign to heap honours and emoluments upon him with an unsparing hand: he was soon after created a peer of Great-Britain, by the title of earl of Oxford and Mortimer, and appointed lord high-treasurer.

Whilst the court of Versailles saw with pleasure these revolutions in the executive part of government take place in Great Britain, another event happened which tended greatly to accelerate that peace which alone could save France from that total ruin which threatened her. On the 6th day of April 1711, the emperor Joseph died at Vienna of the small pox, in the thirty-third year of his age. By his will he bequeathed all the dominions of the house of Austria to his brother Charles king of Spain, who was soon after elected emperor. Such an accession of power to one prince, entirely changed the political system of Europe. The war undertaken by the grand alliance, for preserving the balance of Europe had now no longer that motive for its continuance. The emperor's death therefore furnished the Tories in England with a fresh argument for the re-establishment of peace. The queen in the notification which she made to her parliament of the emperor's death, concluded with saying, that she hoped soon to be in a condition to put a happy end to the war by a lasting and honourable peace*. But though the queen

* Journals, 20th of April, 1711.

secretly

secretly endeavoured to bring this about, her ministers proceeded with great circumspection; they were sensible that they could not as yet publicly disengage their mistress from her alliances; hostilities were therefore still carried on.

Having now related as briefly as possible the important changes which took place in the oeconomy of the state during this ever memorable period, we shall proceed to relate the operations of the British army during the year 1711.

The combined fleet of the maritime powers was commanded by Sir John Leake. Its operations were confined to the defence of the British coast, and clearing the channel of French cruisers. Sir Thomas Hardy, rear-admiral of the blue, was sent with a strong squadron of ten men of war to block up the port of Dunkirk, but notwithstanding the vigilance used to prevent any vessels getting out to sea from that harbour, some ships found means to get out, and others entered safely.

The rear-admiral was soon after called off from this station to convoy the Russian fleet as far northward as the Orkneys, in their way to Archangel.

On the 27th of June, an English man of war, called the *Advice*, commanded by Kenneth lord Duffus, was attacked in Yarmouth-Roads by several French privateers. His lordship engaged them with great bravery, and did not give up his ship, which was a fourth rate of forty-six guns, till all his sails were torn to pieces, the shrouds cut away, two thirds of his men killed and wounded, and he himself had received five balls in his body. The eight privateers that took him, brought the ship with great triumph into Dunkirk, where they most inhumanly stripped both officers and private men even of their wearing apparel; the inhabitants of Dunkirk, however, with great

great kindness furnished them with necessaries, and relieved them from the distress into which the brutality of their plunderers had thrown them*.

Notwithstanding the number of ships that were employed in the channel service, yet four French men of war, commanded by M. Saus, having slipped out of Dunkirk, fell in with the Virginia fleet, consisting of twenty-two sail; two of which were forced ashore, four escaped, and the rest were taken; and with this booty they got safe back to port, notwithstanding a very close pursuit:

The service in the Mediterranean was as barren of events as that nearer home. The affairs of Charles the Third, now wore a very unfavourable aspect, from the heavy misfortunes that had befallen his arms towards the close of the last campaign. Sir John Norris, by his majesty's direction, sailed with the fleet to the Italian coast, to transport recruits from thence to Barcelona. On the 22d day of March, an engagement happened between the *Severn*, *Lion* and *Lyme*, and four French men of war, near Vado bay, in the gulph of Genoa, which after being maintained for two hours the Frenchmen sheered off. The *Lion*, commanded by captain Galfredus Walpole, was the only ship in a condition to pursue the flying enemy, and that officer had his right arm shot away in the action, forty of his men had been killed or wounded, and his ship much torn. The *Exeter*, captain Raymond, at that time coming up, joined in the chase, and overtook one of the French ships, which after an obstinate engagement struck. She proved to be the *Pembroke*, which the French a year before, had taken. Captain Raymond's ship, however, was so much disabled that he could not

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 787.

secure his prize; he was therefore under the mortifying necessity of parting with her, so that the whole squadron escaped.

In the spring of the year 1711, Sir John Norris was succeeded in the command of the Mediterranean fleet by Sir John Jennings, and the duke of Argyle was sent out to command the British troops in Spain. The fleet cruised for sometime off the harbour of Toulon in order to intercept the supplies which the French expected from Languedoc, as well as their corn fleet from the Levant. From this service he was called off by the king of Spain, who when he was elected emperor, embarked on board the admiral's ship at Barcelona and was landed at Genoa. Two rich prizes were soon after taken on their passage from the Levant to Marfailles, and a French fifty gun ship called the Thoulouse, which, together with the Trident a ship of equal force, maintained a desperate fight with the Hampton court and Sterling castle; of which the former bore the heaviest part, and suffered the most: the Trident escaped by plying her oars. About the same time we lost the Resolution, a seventy gun ship, in a violent storm, near Leghorn, where she was driven ashore, but the officers and crew saved themselves. In the same tempest a settee was lost, freighted with a valuable cargo valued at four thousand crowns from Corsica.

In the West-Indies, commodore Lyttleton arriving the latter end of the year 1710, with a strong squadron, took on him the command in chief. The grand object was, the taking the galleons; for which purpose the Nonsuch captain Hardy, and the Roebuck, were stationed on the Spanish coast. Intelligence was soon after obtained, by means of some Spanish vessels that were taken, that M. du Cassé, with a strong squadron, had arrived at Carthagena, in order
to

to convoy the galleons from thence to the Havannah, in their way to Cadiz. The commodore hereupon stood out to sea on the 15th day of July 1711, and arriving on the coast of New Spain on the 27th, in the morning he chased four ships, and soon after came up with the vice-admiral of the galleons, and a Spanish merchant ship. The Salisbury's prize, commanded by captain Robert Harland first engaged the galleon, and presently after the Salisbury commanded by captain Francis Hosier joined in the attack: the commodore being now within pistol shot, was preparing his broadside, which the galleon to avoid struck her colours. She proved to be the very ship that had escaped from admiral Wager two years before*. The wealth she had on board at this time was inconsiderable, for Du Casse had taken out most of the money, from some suspicion which he entertained of the commanding officer; so that the silver found on board her was chiefly private property. The vice-admiral received a wound by a small shot in the engagement, of which he afterwards died. The merchantman, in company with the galleon, was taken by the Jersey; she carried twenty-six guns, and was laden with cocoa and wool. The prisoners informed the commodore, that M. du Casse had sailed two days before with the fleet; and was no sooner at sea than a storm separated them, and blew those ships into the hands of the English. These captures were made with the loss of one man killed and six wounded in the action. Commodore Littleton being well assured that the French commander would proceed with his fleet to the Havannah, determined to cruize a little to leeward of Point Pedro Shoals, as the station most favourable for intercepting him before he reached that harbour; but being

* See page 256.

missed

misled by false intelligence given by the master of a trading vessel which arrived at Jamaica, who made oath that eighteen French men of war had arrived at Martinico, the commodore returned to Jamaica in order to protect that island, against which he supposed the force of France would be directed. Soon after his arrival, he not only found that he had been deceived by the intelligence brought him, but that M. du Casse had got safe into the Havannah; very soon after the commodore had quitted his station. Here he found the *Thesis* a French man of war which had been just taken; and soon after arrived the Weymouth captain Lestock, with a small privateer taken on the coast of Porto Rico. The commodore sent the *Anglesea*, *Fowey* and *Scarborough* to convoy the merchantmen to England; the latter of these ships had been taken from the French by the two former, upon the coast of Guinea, where not long before the French had taken her from us.

About this time, the French formed a design of attacking the Leeward-Islands, and this, with the natural strength of their own colonies; for which purpose, they assembled in the month of May and June, about two thousand men in Martinico; these they embarked on board a large ship, of thirty-six guns, a hag-boat of twenty-four guns, two merchant-ships, and nine privateer sloops. They put to sea on the 10th of June, with an intent to land on the island of Antigua; but they were scarce clear of their own island, before they met with the Newcastle captain Bourn, who attacked them briskly, and, notwithstanding it was a calm, and they lay in such a manner, that he could not bring his broadside to bear upon them; yet, after an action of three hours, in which the French lost sixty-four men, he obliged them to relinquish their design, and avail themselves of the first breeze to return into a port of their own

Vol. III. R r islands.

islands. Unwilling, however, absolutely to abandon their design, they refitted their vessels, and on the 16th day of June landed near one thousand five hundred men on the island of Montserrat; they debarked the troops about twelve at night, and began to plunder the country; but being informed that captain Bourn sailed from thence that day, and was expected to return there the next, they re-embarked with such speed, that they left several of their party behind them, who were made prisoners by the inhabitants of the island. Whilst the French were intent on these schemes, captain Leslie of the Diamond, in company with the Panther, cruised at a small distance off their coast, and took three of their transports.

In north America, the French had taken the fort of St. John's in Newfoundland by Scalade; which had greatly strengthened them in those parts, where they had been before found to be too strong. To dispossess those invaders, a squadron of men of war was fitted out, consisting of the Dragon of fifty guns commodore George Martin; the Falmouth and Chester fifty guns each, captains Rydell and Matthews; the Leostoff thirty-two guns captain George Gordon; Feversham thirty-six captain Robert Paston, and the Star bomb ketch captain Thomas Rochfort. The command of the land forces was given, to colonel Francis Nicholson.

This fleet proceeded to Boston in New England. The colony of Massachusetts's bay furnished a body of land forces; and the fleet having taken on board two thousand troops, set sail on the 18th day of September 1710 for Port Royal in Nova Scotia, and on the 25th the landing was effected. On the 2d day of October the French garrison capitulated, one of the articles of which capitulation was, that the inhabitants
within

within cannon-shot of Port-Royal should remain on their estates, with their corn, cattle and furniture, for two years, in case they were not desirous of going before that time, they taking the oaths of allegiance and fidelity to the queen of Great Britain. The term, "within cannon-shot," was afterwards explained to mean, three English miles round the fort, which district was from thenceforth called Annapolis Royal, in honour of queen Anne*. A list of the names of such persons as chose to continue there was delivered in to the governor, which included four hundred and eighty-one persons, male and female.

After this successful enterprize, the ships and troops returned to New England. The men of war and privateers continued to exert themselves with great success against the French. The Portland and Valeur took two very rich prizes, being valued at thirty thousand pounds, bound from France to Newfoundland, but soon after the Valeur was surprized in harbour and taken by the French.

In the month of August 1711, captain John Aldred in the Rochester; captain Humphry Pudner in the Severn, and captain George Parvis in the Portland, visited all the harbours on the north side of Newfoundland, and ruined the French settlements wherever they went †.

* See Vol. II. p. 418.

† An account of the execution done by this Squadron.

Harbours names.	French ships names.	Men.	Guns.	Tons.
La Couche,	La Comtesse d'Evereux,	75	16	200 taken.
Ditto,	La Couronne,	70	14	200 burnt.
Carouze,	Le Marquis du Bay,	20	28	400 taken.
Ditto,	Le Comte de Bonrepos,	120	23	400 burnt.
Ditto,	L'Aigle Noire,	70	12	200 taken.
Petit Maître,	Francois Maire,	30	18	350 ditto.
Great St. Julian,	Francois de la Paix,	120	30	400 ditto.
Little St. Julian,	St. Pierre,	90	20	290 escaped.
Ditto,	_____	30	12	— ditto.

All the fish, oil, staves, vatts, boats, fishing-tackle, &c. of the above-mentioned ships fell into our hands, and were either taken or destroyed by us. And the two ships which escaped, left even their anchors and cables, and some of their sails, behind.

R r 2

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The English ministry had long viewed with a jealous eye the settlements which the French had made in Canada. A century had elapsed since the foundation of the town of Quebec was laid by Champlain, but so slow was the progress made by France in colonization, that in the year 1626 they had only three wretched settlements surrounded with pales, the largest of which contained but fifty inhabitants, including men, women, and children. The climate had not proved destructive to the people sent there; though severe it was wholesome, and the Europeans strengthened their constitutions without endangering their lives. The little progress they made was entirely owing to an exclusive company, whose chief design was, not so much to create a national power in Canada, as to enrich themselves by the fur trade. The evil might have been immediately removed by abolishing this monopoly, and allowing a free trade, but the spirit of the French government at that time did not dispose it to introduce so beneficial a system. In 1662 new regulations took place in France respecting Canada. They sent a body of troops thither to defend their settlements from the attacks of the Iroquois Indians, a powerful nation on their south western borders, whom the French had made their inveterate enemies by various acts of oppression and tyranny. By the means of this force the French gradually acquired an absolute superiority over these natives. A peace took place, which rendered the colony prosperous. A general freedom of trade was granted, except only the beaver trade which continued to be monopolized, and this was indeed the staple article of traffic. The English who had possessed themselves of New Belgia, and called it New York, having established a trade with the Indians for furs, found the French traders greatly interfere with them in their traffic, on which account they attempted, as we have
shewn

shown already *, to dislodge their rivals, but finding themselves unequal to the task, they prevailed on the New British ministry to undertake the conquest of Canada. For this purpose general Nicholson came to England, and the plan of the expedition was laid in the spring of 1711. For this purpose five thousand men were brought from Flanders. The command of the land forces was given to general Hill, the brother of the new favourite lady Masham; Sir Hoveden Walker rear-admiral of the white commanded the fleet. The naval force sent out on this expedition was as follows :

Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.
Torbay,	Captain Moody,	500	80
Monmouth,	Mitchell,	400	70
Sunderland,	Gore,	365	60
Diamond,	Lisle,	190	40
Devonshire,	Arris,	520	80
Edgar, Sir Hovenden Walker,	Captain Soans,	440	70
Humber,	Culliford,	520	80
Montague,	Walton,	365	60
Kingston,	Winder,	365	60
Swiftsure,	Cooper,	400	70
Dunkirk,	Butler,	365	60

Together with the Bedford Galley frigate, Basilisk, and Granada bombs, with the Experiment, the bombs tender.

There were besides, thirty-three transports, with the regiments of brigadier Hill, colonel Windress, colonel Clayton, colonel Kane, lieutenant general Seymour, colonel Disney, colonel Kirk, and a battalion of marines, under the command of colonel

* Vol. II. p. 417.

Charles Churchill *, making in all, upwards of five thousand men, and eight transports and tenders belonging to the train.

In April 1711 a part of this armament sailed from Portsmouth, and in May from Plymouth. They took on board a supply of provisions too scanty for the voyage which was before them, and great unskillfulness was discovered in the choice of the ships for the expedition, which were in general too large for the navigation of the river St. Laurence. The fleet having cleared land proceeded directly for Boston, where much time was taken up in laying in fresh stores, which might with greater expedition have been put on board in England. In consequence of this delay, it was not until the 30th day of July, that admiral Walker sailed for the river St. Laurence. The first object of the expedition was the reduction of Quebec, which when effected, the fleet and troops were instructed to attack Placentia in Newfoundland. The fleet and transports arrived off Gaspé bay on the 18th day of August, when tempestuous weather, and strong currents drove them on the north shore among rocks and small islands, and exposed the whole armament to imminent danger of being lost. Eight transport ships were cast away, and almost nine hundred officers, soldiery and seamen perished †: many of

* Younger brother to the duke of Marlborough, and the same who took the duke of Berwick prisoner at the battle of Landen. See Vol. II. p. 458.

† The following is the state of the loss :

Ships.	Names.	Men lost.	Men saved.	Regiment.
	Transports.			
	Isabella Anne Katherine	192	7 or 8	Colonel Wendresse.
	Smepna Merchant	200	30	———— Kane.
	Samuel and Anne	142	7 or 8	Lieut. Gen. Seymour.
	Nathaniel and Elizabeth	10	188	———— Ditto.
	Marlborough	130	30	Colonel Clayton.
	Chatham	60	60	———— Windresse.
	Colchester	150	180	Lieut. Gen. Seymour.
	Content, Victualler		15	
		884	499	

the

the other ships were also miserably shattered. A council of war was called on the 25th, composed of sea officers, by whom it was unanimously resolved that on account of the ignorance of the pilots, as well as the uncertainty and rapidity of the currents, it was impossible to proceed up the river St. Laurence with the men of war and transports as far as Quebec.

The admiral hereupon brought the fleet into Spanish river in the island of Cape Briton; where on the 8th day of September a general council of war, composed of land and sea officers, was held, to deliberate on the expediency of attacking Placentia. It was the opinion of all present that the season was too far advanced to warrant such an attempt. Hereupon the troops from New England were sent back to that province, and the fleet returned to England, where it arrived on the 9th day of October, 1711*.

As this was the first expedition set on foot by the new ministry (although lord Godolphin had projected such an enterprize whilst he was in power) its ill success mortified them exceedingly, but its miscarriage ought to be imputed to the injudicious manner in which it was conducted. It may not be improper to mention here, what the baron Lahontan, one of the first and most faithful of those French travellers in North America, who have written ac-

* The officers who composed the court-martial were as follow :

N A V A L.

Hovenden Walker
Joseph Soanes
John Mitchell
R. Arris
G. Walton
Henry Gore
G. Paddon
John Winder
John Cockburn
James Cook

L A N D.

J. Hill
Charles Churchill
William Windreffe
M. Kempenfelt
Jasper Clayton
P. Kirk
H. Disney
Richard Kane
Samuel Vetch
Sha. Walton

count

counts of their discoveries, says, in his description of Canada, so long ago as the year 1703. "There is," says he, "a general opinion prevailing in Canada, that their colony will sooner or later be conquered by the English." The time for fulfilling this prediction was not then arrived.

A few days after the arrival of the fleet at Spithead, the admiral's ship the *Edgar*, a third rate of seventy guns, blew up, whilst several hundred seamen were on board, all of whom perished, together with many of their friends who were at that time on board. The admiral was set out for London; all the commission-officers were on shore. The seamen, who although the most fearless of danger, are as much inclined to superstitious conceits as any set of people whatever, considered this disaster as ominous to the whole navy of Great Britain, because it was the oldest ship in the service, and as this ship derived its name from a Saxon king, so a tradition prevailed that it was actually the ship in which king *Edgar* sailed, some part of the old vessel being constantly preserved every time that she had been rebuilt*.

In this month arrived in the Downs two privateers, called the *Duke* and *Duchess*, commanded by the captains Woods Rogers, and Stephen Courtney, which had been fitted out by some merchants at Bristol, to cruise in the South Seas against the Spaniards in the year 1708. The *Duke* mounted thirty guns and had one hundred and seventy men on board; the *Duchess* had twenty-six guns and one hundred and fifty men. The famous captain *Dampier*, whose voyages have made him known throughout Europe, was on board one of these vessels, as pilot; they sailed from Bristol on the 1st of August, 1708, and having

* Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, Vol. IV. p. 199, note. See our first volume, p. 28.

happily

happily passed the Straights of Magellan, they not only took several ships in the South Seas, but several towns also upon the coast; and on the 22d of December, 1709, they met with the Acapulco ship, that is, the lesser of the two ships which sail annually from the Manillas to Mexico; she was of the burden of four hundred tons, and carried twenty guns, and as many patararoes. The action lasted about half an hour, and the value of the prize was about two million pieces of eight; the larger Acapulco ship fell also in their way, which they attacked two days successively; but, as she was of nine hundred tons burden, and had six hundred men on board, they found it impossible to take her, which made them determine to return by the East-Indies. So that they encompassed the world in three years and two months. These two ships, when on the western coast of South America, touched on a small island called Juan Fernandez for refreshments, where they found a Scots seaman, named Alexander Selkirk, who had resided on that uninhabited and unfrequented spot near five years, and in one of these ships he came back to England, and afterwards lived to revisit his long-lost native country*.

The campaign in Flanders was carried on under the auspices of the duke of Marlborough, but although that general took the field the beginning of May, he was unable to perform any action of consequence. Prince Eugene was called off with the German troops, to the Rhine, a large body of English was drafted off for the ineffectual attempt upon Quebec, and marshal Villars had so strongly entrenched himself at Arleux, that the endeavours of Marlborough to force him to a battle were frustrated:

* From the history of this recluse, Daniel de Foe is said to have conceived the idea of writing the adventures of Robinson Crusoe.

he therefore sat down before Bouchain, in sight of the enemy, and took it on the 13th day of September.

The duke of Berwick, without any effort of consequence, defended Dauphené and Provence against the allies commanded by general Thaun. In Spain the duke de Noailles took Gironne, which was almost the only operation of the campaign in that quarter. The Spaniards and Portuguese hovered, throughout the summer and autumn without any action, on the frontiers of Estramadura. A general languor prevailed on every side. All parties, fatigued with fruitless hostilities, seemed willing to transfer their contests from the field to the cabinet. As the death of one prince of the house of Austria had roused all Europe to arms, so the demise of another was destined to restore it to peace.

The British ministry now embraced a pacific system, as the only one that could give permanency to their possession of power. As no overtures were now made by the court of Versailles, the impatience of the conquerors made them sue indirectly to the vanquished. One Gautier, a Romish priest, who was retained in the family of the earl of Jersey, was secretly sent over to France to intimate the disposition of Great Britain. Notwithstanding the former kingdom was reduced to the most humiliating distress, yet its ministry had such a confidence in the pacific system which had been adopted by queen Anne and her new ministry, that they informed Gautier the king, their master would hear no more of peace by the way of Holland, but that he should be extremely glad to put an end to the war by the interposition of Great Britain. This mode of negotiation was agreed to, and a memorial drawn up by the court of Versailles in the month of April*, which the court of Lon-

* A. D. 1711.

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don forwarded to the states, as the foundation for a general peace. These conditions were highly displeasing to that republic, whereupon Mr. Matthew Prior, whom posterity will regard for his poetical talents, not for his political conduct, was sent over to France with instructions to deliver into the French court, terms which were called preliminary articles to a general peace, and to bring back their answer. As Prior was not empowered to discuss the articles with the French ministry, or to make any alteration in them, he required a general assent or refusal in writing. Neither of these alternatives were thought prudent for France to adopt, she therefore determined to transfer the negotiation to London, and full powers to treat were given to Menager, who was sent over with Prior.

The new ministry were solicitous to keep this overture which they had made to France a profound secret from the nation; but even in an affair where they themselves were so deeply interested, they betrayed a want of common caution. The whole of this secret transaction was brought to light by an officer of the customs. When Prior had passed over from Dover to Calais, this officer, whose name was Mackay, sent information, as was his duty, to secretary St. John, that an English gentleman had taken his passage to France. The secretary in reply, directed the informant to keep the matter a secret, and to watch the man's return. He did so, and having got intelligence that a vessel had landed, at Deal, three persons from France, with secretary St. John's pass, he followed them to Canterbury, and there discovered Matthew Prior, who had assumed a feigned name. Mackay, who was more attached to the old than the new ministry, immediately sent advice of this to the duke of Marlborough and the earl of Sunderland, by whom the Imperial and Dutch am-

bassadors were presently informed, that the British ministry were secretly carrying on a correspondence with France to bring about a peace. The earl of Oxford and his colleagues were now obliged to avow their desire of peace. In the month of October, a copy of the preliminary articles were delivered to count Galas, the Imperial ambassador at London, who immediately made them public, thereby appealing from the government to the people. The ministry were so much offended at his conduct, that the ambassador was forbid the court, and even told that he might quit the kingdom. Lord Raby, upon this occasion created earl of Strafford, was sent to Holland in September, to lay before the States the preliminary articles which had been received from France and approved by Great Britain. The States objected in vain, they sent over to London M. Buys as their envoy extraordinary, to represent to the queen the ground of their dislike to the terms on which the general peace of Europe was to be restored. But neither the remonstrances of the confederating powers, nor the discontents of the nation could shake the resolution of Oxford and his associates; so that at length a congress was appointed to be held at Utrecht, which was opened on the 12th day of January, 1712.

The parliament met on the 7th day of December; the queen in her speech informed them of the steps which had been taken to restore the general tranquillity of Europe: she spoke much of the improvement of commerce; easing the people, reforming abuses, and attending to the internal state of her kingdoms: she assured her parliament that she would not only endeavour to procure all reasonable satisfaction to her allies, but unite them in the strictest engagements to render permanent the public repose; adding, that the best way to treat with effect about a peace, was to make

make an early provision for carrying on the war : she therefore required the usual supplies.

The ministry had secured a sure majority in the house of commons to support their measures ; their apprehensions of a defeat arose from the complexion of the house of lords, where the duke of Marlborough had exerted his influence so effectually, as to draw over eight peers from the side of the ministry to that of opposition. When the preliminaries came to be debated in that house, the earl of Nottingham, although a warm stickler for high church principles, desisted largely on the inadequate terms which France offered to the allies ; he concluded with moving that a clause be inserted in the address, that no peace could be safe and honourable which gave Spain and the West-Indies to a branch of the house of Bourbon. The house adopted this amendment ; and the addition to the address was carried by sixty-one against fifty-five.

When the estimates were laid before the house of commons, a resolution was readily made that forty thousand seamen, including eight thousand marines, should be employed for the sea-service, and that one hundred and eighty thousand pounds should be employed for the ordinary of the navy. The whole amount of the supplies granted, was six million six hundred and fifty six thousand nine hundred and sixty seven pounds. The house likewise, to gratify the wishes of the ministry, sat on foot charges against the duke of Marlborough and his secretary for speculation, in the contracts for bread and bread-waggons for the army in Flanders, founded on the deposition of Sir Solomon Medina. The duke justified his conduct ; but concerning the validity of the charge, every man formed his opinion according to the political principles which he happened to embrace. The queen, however, availed herself of this imputation as a
plea

plea for dismissing the duke from all his employments, giving as a reason for this step, that as an information had been laid by the commons against the duke, she thought fit to dismiss him her service, that the charge might be more impartially examined.

As the earl of Oxford had found the present temper of the house of peers absolutely repugnant to his views, he recommended to the queen twelve gentlemen firmly attached in principle to the court party, who were created peers of the realm, and took their seats accordingly, on the 2d day of January 1712*.

The count Galas, although forbid the court, and told in direct terms, that he might leave the kingdom, yet still continued to reside in London. An obscure Irish jesuit, named Plunket, who had gained the confidence of that minister's secretary, procured by his means copies of all the dispatches forwarded either to the court of Vienna or the Hague, which he carried to the earl of Oxford. But for this important information, that statesman's measures, which were so repugnant to the views of the allies, as well as to the temper of the nation, would most probably have been defeated, and might perhaps have drawn on him the forfeit of his life. Soon after the obtaining this key to the Imperial minister's private cabinet, prince Eugene arrived in London, that under colour of paying a visit to his friend the duke of Marlborough, he might promote the schemes of the emperor his master, and defeat the projected peace. He was received by queen Anne and her ministers, with a polite and respectful coolness; and the vigilance of the ministry effectually baffled all the designs which

* On this occasion the duke of Warton having counted the new peers as they passed to their seats, observed, that the number was just twelve; which made them appear like a jury empannelled to try a cause; "I hope," adds his Grace "it is not a packed jury."

their

their opponents formed; and made the queen their ready instrument to bring about their purposes. She had fallen into so infirm a state of health, that her life was apprehended to be in imminent danger, and the faculties of her mind suffered a proportional decay with the organs of her body.

The parliament, which still continued to sit, now voted that the duke of Marlborough, in receiving money from the contractors for bread, and bread-waggons, had been guilty of unwarrantable and illegal practices; the house thereupon addressed the queen to direct her attorney-general to prosecute his grace. No legal process, however, was set on foot, and the affair died away. The report of the commissioners of public accounts likewise found Mr. Robert Walpole to have been guilty of a high breach of trust and notorious corruption, whilst he held the post of secretary at war; for which he was expelled his seat in the house and committed to the Tower.

A treaty having been entered into between the viscount Townsend and the States of the United Provinces, by which certain towns in Flanders were assigned to the latter as a barrier, when the war should terminate, that treaty now became the subject of parliamentary enquiry. Lille, Tournay, Menin, Douay, and other places situated on the Lys and the Scheld, which had been thereby guaranteed to the States, and which France, in her former overtures for peace, had agreed to give up, were now thought by the pacific party too great a surrender for that kingdom to make. The house therefore voted that several articles in the barrier treaty were destructive to the trade and interest of Great Britain; that the lord Townsend had neither orders nor authority to conclude those pernicious articles; that therefore, he who negotiated and signed the treaty, was an enemy to the queen and kingdom.

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The commons next went into an examination of the conduct of the allies, with respect to their furnishing their proper quotas for the war. It appeared upon this enquiry, that not one of the confederates, except Great Britain, had fulfilled their engagements. That the emperor, in particular, who had most to gain by the war, contributed the least towards its expence. That the States of the United Provinces had not come up in any article to the terms of their treaties. That the king of Portugal and the duke of Savoy, made a lucrative trade of the war, by procuring from their friends those advantages which they ought to have wrested from their enemies. The commons came to various resolutions on this important subject: the princes and states, who composed the confederacy, were treated with great freedom in the debates. Such proceedings were highly resented by the respective ministers, who complained that the British nation insulted their friends to facilitate a dishonourable treaty with a faithless enemy; who presumed to dictate the terms of peace, after having been almost totally subdued in the war.

The States-general presented a memorial to the queen in justification of their conduct in carrying on the war. This being printed in a London newspaper, gave such offence to the house of commons, that the paper was voted a scandalous, infamous, and seditious libel, and the printer committed to prison, where he continued the remainder of the session. This offensive memorial stated, that the grand alliance only specifies, that all the contracting parties shall prosecute this war with their whole force; and therefore, if the States have exerted the utmost of their force, they have fulfilled their engagements; but they insist further, that the ships furnished for the North Sea, had been left out, notwithstanding those ships were for the joint service; and they alledge further, that

that the number of ships which the States were to employ, ought to be regulated, not by the number actually put into commission by England, but by the number that was fit and reasonable for England to put into commission, or at least by the number proposed to the States, upon settling the annual quota's for the war. As the States had the paper drawn up by order of the lords of the admiralty, and signed by Mr. Secretary Burchet, containing an account of the English and Dutch ships fitted out during the war; so they likewise thought proper to add another account of their own, which they professed themselves able to make good from authentic vouchers, and which is as follows;

*SHIPS furnished by the Maritime Powers during
the WAR.*

In the English men Dutch ships furnished, as Dutch ships, according
year of war. rated by the English. to their own account.

1702	74	33	55
1703	79	22	50
1704	74	18	56
1705	79	20	56
1706	78	15	54
1707	72	27	49
1708	69	26	53
1709	60	13	50
1710	62	13	43
1711	59	12	40

Whilst the pursuit of peace thus introduced discord and contention into the nation, the negotiation at Utrecht met with many weighty impediments. As the unexpected death of the emperor Joseph, seemed to ensure the repose of Europe, so other unlooked for deaths, at this critical juncture, threatened to impede its completion. The dauphin of France,

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the only son of Louis XIV. died at the age of fifty; his son the duke of Burgundy died soon after, then the latter's eldest son the duke of Brittany. Of three sons born to the duke of Burgundy, only the duke of Anjou a sickly infant survived. This surprising mortality in the royal family of France, led even the English ministry to demand new securities for the stability of the peace, and for preventing the kingdoms of France and Spain being under the government of the same sovereign.

The French king was so well assured of the pacific inclinations of those with whom he had to treat, that he even renounced all evasion, and roundly insisted on the absolute hereditary right, by which princes possess their crowns, which they derive from God alone, and therefore no human compacts can make void; so that this link in the chain that binds together the community, cannot be broken. He went so far as to assert, that should the king of Spain renounce his right of succeeding to the crown of France, on failure of his elder brother's issue, for the sake of peace, that renunciation, however, solemnly made, could not deprive him of a right, which was inherently lodged in him, and which it was not in his power to divest himself of. After such an open declaration of the nugatory tendency of the most solemn renunciation in the matter of succession to a crown, the acceptance of it was an affront to the understanding of the nation. However, to colour over the transaction, Louis XIV. wrote a letter to his grandson, Philip, desiring him in the most solemn manner to renounce all claim to the crown of France, and to refer his contingent right thereto to the duke of Berry.

Meantime the queen of England, after ten years reign, which had been crowned with glorious and unparalleled prosperity, found herself no longer to possess

possess the affections of her people. Those ministers and generals through whom she had been wafted along by a full tide of popularity, were now disgraced, and their successors solely attentive to the establishment of themselves, made the dignity and interests of the nation, subservient to their ambition. Queen Anne, who had never possessed any strong mental faculties, began to feel the weight of care, which now became appendant to her crown, to be more than she was capable of supporting. She became desponding and suspicious. Her physicians perceiving her perturbation of mind, prescribed palliatives for a disorder, for which the whole compass of human art is incapable of administering a radical cure. She was made to believe that the most dangerous designs against her person and government, were formed by the Whigs; and those who had all along approved themselves her most faithful subjects, were now stigmatized as concealed rebels. Like her uncle king Charles II. she chose rather to confide in her avowed enemy the French king, than her own subjects, and even looked to him as a protector from the designs, which she imagined were formed against her by them. The same pusillanimous spirit, which led her to wish to derive protection from a prince, whose power had been so lately broken by her arms, caused the presumptive heir to the crown to fall under her displeasure. Though she could not be supposed to entertain any great affection for the prince, distinguished in England by the appellation of, "the pretender," whose right to the crown, if well founded must prove her an usurper, and who not long before had attempted to recover it by force of arms, yet she was extremely averse to the succession taking place in a prince of the house of Hanover. She therefore proposed to the pretender, then twenty-six years of age, that he should renounce the popish

faith to which he had hitherto adhered, which might induce the British legislature to repeal the act of succession, passed in the reign of king William III. Notwithstanding the prince was far from being a rigid romanist, yet still, like his father, his obstinacy prevailed over his ambition, and he determined to retain the profession of his religion, though at the risk of his crown*.

Besides the great business of adjusting the articles of peace, some other affairs which deserve to be mentioned, fell under discussion in the two houses. The act for a general naturalization of all foreign protestants was repealed. This law, which had been passed by the Whigs when in power, had been always odious to the high church party. They argued, that as most protestants abroad, differed from the church government established in England, so the naturalizing bill was calculated to increase the number of dissenters in the kingdom. As surmises of an intended invasion had been spread, these contracted politicians had strengthened their cause with another argument, far fetched and incongruous as the principles it was meant to support. They observed that by the letter of the naturalization act, any number of foreign protestants, how considerable soever, might legally enter the kingdom, by which means a foreign prince might become, when he pleased, master of it, by sending his subjects before him, into a country where they became denizens, at the expence of a shilling a head; the common price of an oath to the government. That should such a prince, which was likely to be soon the case, ascend the throne of Great Britain, he might without doing any violence to the laws of the kingdom, enslave the nation with an army of his native subjects.

* Stuart Papers 1712, in Macpherson's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 327, 341.

The emperor being now determined to shew his zeal in the common cause, sent a large army into Flanders, the Dutch also made an extraordinary effort, and even furnished beyond their contingent. The confederates took the field in Flanders the end of April, their army amounting to one hundred and twenty-two thousand men; at the head of the Imperial forces, was prince Eugene; the duke of Ormond now commanded the British forces, and such troops as were in British pay. Queen Anne, whose resentment against France was quite disarmed, had determined that nothing should be effected against that kingdom; otherwise, had Marlborough been continued in the command, at the head of such an army, and seconded by the prince of Savoy, the year 1712 would most probably have dismembered France of some of her richest provinces; but Ormond was sent over to the continent with secret instructions not to act offensively.

Marshal Villars was strongly entrenched behind the Scheld; but the penetrating eye of Eugene, discovered an assailable quarter, by which he determined to attack that general. This resolution he communicated to the duke of Ormond, and asked the assistance of his troops. Ormond could then no longer conceal the nature of his orders; he declined leading his troops on in the attempt to dislodge the French.

As soon as intelligence of this event reached the Hague, the States sent a remonstrance to the court of London. The nation felt the indignity which had been cast upon it, the house of lords expressed their resentment at the conduct of the general, but the ministry were too deeply entrenched to regard these commotions.

Prince Eugene, although deserted by the British troops, laid siege to Quesnoy, which surrendered: the Dutch were apprehensive, and with reason, that the

the inactivity of the British commander, which was only a prelude to a cessation of arms between the two kingdoms, would give marshal Villars an opportunity of leading his whole army against prince Eugene, and by dint of numbers gaining such an ascendancy, as would in a very short time strip the allies of all the advantages which they had gained during the long and glorious war. They already saw themselves exposed in a defenceless state, to the vengeance of an enemy, whom they had treated with haughtiness and contempt.

The English plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, insisted, as a preliminary step to peace, that Dunkirk should be put into possession of Queen Anne, which being agreed to, after some equivocation and delay on the part of France, Sir John Leake, who was now at the head of the admiralty, was ordered to convoy a body of troops thither, commanded by lieutenant general Hill, for that purpose, which service being performed*, the fleet returned into the Downs.

Sir Thomas Hardy commanded the squadron, which was stationed in the soundings; in which service he fell in with six French ships and a tartan. Five of these he took; namely, the Griffin, a king's ship, but in the service of the merchants, bound for La Vera Cruz, and laden with bale goods; the St. Esprit, of thirty-six guns, and one hundred and seventy-five men, also laden with bale goods, and bound for Cadiz, she unfortunately blew up, and only the captain and about thirty-five of her men were saved; the Adventure of Havre de Grace, carrying twelve guns and forty men, bound for Newfoundland; the master of this vessel produced the queen's pass, and was thereupon suffered to pursue his voyage; the incomparable, of sixteen guns, bound for Martinico;

* 8th of July, 1712.

and

and the Ruby of twelve guns, bound for St. Domingo. The ship that escaped carried eight guns. Although these captures were made before any orders were issued for a suspension of hostilities, yet so complaisant was administration to their new friends, the French, that after a long suit to obtain the condemnation of these vessels as legal prizes, the captors were obliged to accept of a sum of money, far short of what they had a right to accept*.

Vice admiral Baker, in cruising off Cape St. Maries in the month of February, met with a large Spanish ship of sixty guns, which he ran ashore upon the coast of Portugal, the wind blowing too hard to venture out the boats, so that the inhabitants of the country, taking advantage of this situation, boarded and plundered her. She was freighted with sugar, cocoa, sauff, hides, and twenty thousand pieces of eight. The vice-admiral presented a memorial to the court of Portugal, setting forth his right to the effects which had been thus clandestinely purloined, and requesting that they might be delivered up; but the Portuguese ministry, who were never heartily in the interest of Great Britain, evaded this demand by urging that the goods were so effectually secreted, that it was out of the power of government to recover them. After this event, Baker cruised in the latitude of the Western Islands, for the fleet expected from the Brazils, but being overtaken by a storm, he was obliged to return to Lisbon, but the Portuguese fleet arrived safely in the Tagus, the day before the admiral returned thither.

Sir John Jennings joined the Dutch vice-admiral in the Mediterranean in May, having six thousand five hundred men on board, of transports, which were landed in Spain. By orders from lord Bolingbrooke,

* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 203.

the admiral permitted a large French fleet of corn ships, to pass by him unmolested, every one of which he had it in his power to take. Whilst the admiral continued in the Mediterranean, he escorted the empress with her retinue from Barcelona to Genoa, and conveyed thirty thousand men from Catalonia to Naples. He afterwards carried over the duke and dukes of Savoy, from Villa Franca to their new kingdom of Sicily.

Notwithstanding the fruitless issue of the expedition against Canada, yet the naval commander thereof standing well with the ministry, was made choice of, to succeed commodore Littleton in the West-Indies. On the 28th day of April, 1712, Sir Hovenden Walker sailed from St. Helens, having a fleet of about one hundred merchant ships under his convoy. On the 24th day of June he arrived at Antigua, where a violent animosity subsisted between the governor and the inhabitants, which the admiral left in the same condition as he found it. On the 6th day of July, he arrived at Jamaica, and soon after had advice that the French had made a descent on Antigua. In order to retaliate the injury intended by the expedition against Canada, the French set on foot one against the Leeward Islands. Monsieur Caffard sailed from Toulon with a strong squadron. He first attacked the island of St. Jago, which is the principal one of the cluster of islands, called Cape de Verde. He plundered it of every thing that could be conveyed away, and then blew up the fort. He arrived at Martinico in July 1712, where he collected three thousand men, and proceeded with them to Montserrat, and having driven the inhabitants to inaccessible fortresses in the centre of the island, his troops ravaged the rest of the settlement for some days; but hearing that some English ships were on their way to the relief of the place, he hastily re-embarked his troops

troops and stood over to the continent, where he made a descent at Surinam, and obliged the inhabitants to purchase their safety at the expence of eight hundred thousand pieces of eight.

All this while Sir Hovenden Walker remained inactive at Jamaica, where a dreadful hurricane, which happened on the 29th day of August, not only desolated the island, but did considerable damage to the men of war that lay there. Soon after which, an order arrived from England for the admiral to return home, after having proclaimed a cessation of arms; and he accordingly arrived on the 26th day of May, 1713.

The depredations made by Cassard in the West-Indies, gave great offence to the English plenipotentiaries, engaged at Utrecht in adjusting the terms of peace, and would have led a ministry, who felt properly for the honour of their country, immediately to have broken off all negotiation; but those who had now the guidance of the helm of state sought peace at any rate, with all the avidity of a prostrate power. The French in this instance, as in every other, were not at a loss to evade the charge. The court of Versailles denied having authorized Cassard to act in the manner he had done, and declared that his instructions were only general; that he had obeyed them, and that proper satisfaction should be given; which, however, was afterwards forgot.

On the 19th day of August, an instrument for a suspension of arms for four months was signed at Paris, by secretary St. John, (now advanced to the peerage by the title of viscount Bolingbroke) on the part of queen Anne, and by the marquis de Torcy on the part of Louis XIV. which was afterwards renewed for four months longer.

Prince Eugene being now unassisted by the British troops, sat down before Londrecy. The troops of

Brandenburg, the Palatinate, Saxony, Hesse, and Denmark still remained with him, and were paid by the Dutch. Even the elector of Hanover left his troops with the allies, thereby shewing, that though his family expected the crown of England, they did not build their hopes on any favour from the queen*. Villars attacked a part of the prince's army that was posted at Denain; these he defeated, and also the reinforcements which were sent to support them. One thousand of the confederates were slain in the engagement; one thousand five hundred were drowned; two thousand five hundred were taken prisoners; and many officers of rank fell. The consequences of this victory were decisive. Prince Eugene was obliged hastily to raise the siege of Landrecy, all his magazines were lodged at Marchiennes, a village situated between Douay and St. Amand; these were taken. The frontier towns of Douay, Quesnoy, and Bouchain were rapidly recovered to France. The queen of Great Britain and her ministers exulted at this reverse of fortune in Flanders, as though France had been their ally and the republic of Holland the power they sought to crush. Nothing of any consequence happened during the campaign, either in Spain, Portugal, or on the Rhine. Towards the close of the year 1712, the duke d'Aumont arrived at London in character of ambassador from the court of Versailles.

On the 31st day of March 1713, the long protracted conferences at Utrecht terminated in a treaty of peace and commerce, which was first signed by the ministers of the queen of Great Britain and those of France; after these, the minister of the duke of Savoy, and those of Portugal and Prussia signed also. The States of the United Provinces were the last who signed, the French plenipotentiaries having insisted that the ministers of such princes as their master had

* Voltaire

acknowledged

acknowledged as sovereigns, should precede the ambassadors of a republic.—The court of Versailles had now recovered its wonted spirit of dictation.

By this peace the emperor was to have the duchy of Milan, the kingdom of Naples, and the Spanish Netherlands; Sicily was to be given to the duke of Savoy, with the title of king; and Sardinia, with the same title, was to be given to the elector of Bavaria, in lieu of his losses; the States were to deliver up Lille, and the little places about it: and besides the places of which they were possessed, they were to have Namur, Charleroy, Luxembourg, Ypres, and Newport; the king of Prussia was to have the Upper Guelder, in lieu of Orange, and the other estates, which the family had in Franche Comte. Philip V. was left in the peaceable possession of the crown of Spain; but renounced all his right to the crown of France. The English were to have the fortifications of Dunkirk demolished, and to retain Gibraltar, the island of Minorca, Hudson's Bay, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland; but the French kept possession of Cape Breton, and were left at liberty to dry fish upon the coast of Newfoundland. The emperor refused to accede to this treaty, and resolved to continue the war.

Those who justified the peace, against such as urged the great difference that there was between the terms then agreed upon, and those which were offered by France in 1709, pleaded, that the political system of Europe had been since then entirely changed, so that as strong a necessity subsisted at the time of making the peace, for prescribing limits to the power of the house of Austria, as had before led the powers of Europe to league together for the purpose of reducing the overbearing greatness of the house of Bourbon. They prophesied the revival of the age of Charles V. when all Europe seemed destined to bow beneath the

power of one mighty sovereign. But in foreseeing these dangers, the alterations which had taken place in the condition of Europe were overlooked. The United Provinces, a branch lopped off from the dominions of Spain, had risen into a powerful republic; England too, having availed herself of her natural advantages, was able to give law on the ocean; France, by an accession of territory, and the improvement of the national character, had risen to a degree of greatness unknown when Spain was at its meridian height. Besides, the impossibility of the monarchy of Spain ever giving law to Europe, arose from the debility into which it had sunk, proceeding from the civil and religious slavery in which it was held, and the sluggish apathy which the influx of the wealth of the new world had introduced into the country. The events which have turned up since the signing this famous peace of Utrecht, seem fully to justify the conclusion, that the repose of Europe would have been better secured, if the house of Austria had possessed the throne of Spain with its important appendages, than by the sovereignty of that kingdom being vested in a branch of the house of Bourbon, whereby the measures pursued by the court of Madrid have been almost invariably subservient to the restlessness and ambition of France.

As the general principle on which the peace was founded, seems to have been erroneous, so the manner in which particular interests were adjusted, betrays a great want of sagacity and foresight. Hereby the boundaries between Hudson's Bay and the northern parts of Canada were agreed to be determined by commissioners within a year, but they have not been settled to this day, although both British and French subjects are by that article of the treaty expressly debarred from passing over the same. Commissioners were likewise to settle the boundaries between
the

the other British and French colonies on that continent, which likewise remain unsettled.

They were likewise to settle, according to the rules of justice, the satisfaction to be given to the English Hudson's Bay Company, for the damage done to their settlements, ships, persons and goods, by the hostile incursions and depredations of the French in time of peace; but this was never done. All these important matters remaining unadjusted, the treaty was more like an agreement for a cessation of hostilities than for a permanent peace.

Farther, although all Nova Scotia and Acadia, *with its ancient boundaries*, were yielded to Great Britain forever; and the subjects of France were thereby excluded from all kind of fishing in the seas, bays, &c. on the coast of Nova Scotia, yet those were never justly ascertained by France; and the ambiguous term, "*ancient boundaries*," seems to have been purposely introduced by France to serve her future purposes. The true limits of Nova Scotia, are properly bounded by the Ocean, and the bay and river of St. Laurence—quite up to Canada, which river we contend was the ancient boundary between Nova Scotia and New France or Canada. Besides the island of Cape Breton, which was always deemed a part of Nova Scotia, and which is better situated for the fishery than any other part of it, and gives the French an opportunity to interrupt our fishery, and the communication between Newfoundland and our continental colonies in time of war, was yielded up to France, as also all the other islands, both in the mouth of the bay and of the river St. Laurence. Although the island of Newfoundland, with the adjacent smaller isles and the town and fortress of Placentia, and whatever else the French possessed there, were yielded up to Great Britain, yet the French were permitted to erect stages made of boards and
huts,

huts, such as were usual for drying fish during the season. So that they still retained a liberty to catch fish, and to dry them on land at that part of Newfoundland, which stretches from Cape Bonaville to the northern part of the island, and from thence runs down by the west side as far as point Rich. Thus they retained all the advantages of that settlement, without the expence of holding forts and garrisons.

The brave Catalans, in consequence of the separate peace made by Great Britain, after that most obstinate struggle for their liberties against the united powers of France and Spain, were necessitated to submit to the terms of the conquerors, abandoned by queen Anne's ministry, contrary to the most solemn engagements and repeated assurances.

List of English Ships lost, or taken,
in Queen Anne's War.

Guns.	Number.	Guns.
80	2	160
70	4	280
60	2	120
50	2	400
48	1	48
40	2	80
36	1	36
32	4	128
28	2	56
24	1	24
20	1	20
Total 38		1496

French Ships lost, or taken.

Guns.	Number.	Guns.
100	4	400
90	8	720
86	8	688
74	1	74
70	3	210
64	1	64
56	1	56
54	4	216
50	2	100
48	2	96
40	1	40
38	2	76
34	1	34
32	1	32
30	2	60
28	1	28
24	4	96
20	2	40
Total 52		3094
58		1596

The Loss of the French

14 ships, 1498 guns.

By comparing the above list with that given in page thirty-five, of the comparative loss sustained by both sides during king William's war, it will appear that the French suffered one third more in this war than they did in the last, notwithstanding the many engagements which happened in that, and only one battle at sea being fought in this.

The

The treaty of navigation and commerce, between Great Britain and France, consisted of forty-one articles, the eighth and ninth of which were the most important. By these the high duties levied in British ports, upon all goods and merchandise imported from France, were agreed to be taken off; and all the privileges respecting commerce were to be allowed to the subjects of the French king, which the most favoured foreign nation enjoyed. The general tariff made in France in the year 1664, was agreed should again take place.

On the 9th day of April 1713, the parliament met at Westminster. The queen opened the session by a speech, in which she informed the two Houses of the peace being ratified. The commons voted an address of thanks, with only one dissenting voice: in the house of lords it was carried by seventy-eight against forty-three.

A day being appointed by the commons, to deliberate upon the treaty of commerce, very just and weighty objections were made to the eighth and ninth articles. It was very forcibly argued, that a trade with that kingdom would prove extremely prejudicial to the woollen, silk, and paper manufactures; and, above all, to the commerce with Portugal, which brought annually so much bullion into the kingdom. The friends of the ministry deduced their arguments from an enumeration of the vast quantities of British commodities exported to France before the two last wars. The Whigs averred, that since the revolution, the state of commerce was entirely changed: that France had set up and encouraged woollen manufactures of her own: that Britain had learned, in the course of so many years, to accommodate herself without the product of France: that the French, having the work performed for less money, could sell their goods at a cheaper rate: that should
Britain

Britain even be capable of ballancing her own trade with France; she could not prevent the latter kingdom from engrossing the commerce of other countries: that the increase of the trade to Portugal, the most valuable branch of British commerce, was owing to the high duties, which amounted to a kind of prohibition of French wines: that should the duties on these wines be reduced to an equality with those on the wines of Portugal, the trade with that kingdom would be lost; as men in general would prefer the wines of France, when they could be purchased at the same rate. Upon a division of the house the bill was thrown out by a majority of nine votes*.

The emperor of Germany had been enduced to continue the war, in expectation either of the death of queen Anne, or of that of Louis XIV. either of which events it was thought would rekindle the flames of war, and that the house of Austria might be thereby put into possession of the crown of Spain. It was plainly seen that the ministry, which then governed the queen and the kingdom, would be divested of their power by her successor, and when the French king, who was then broken with age and infirmities, should expire, France, by falling under the dominion of a minor, would be rendered incapable of defending herself, and could therefore render no assistance to Philip of Spain. These motives enduced Charles VI. to try the fate of another campaign on the Rhine, where prince Eugene commanded the Imperial army, against whom Marshal Villars led a superior force, with which he reduced several considerable places in the palatinate. He then crossed the Rhine, defeated general Vaubonne in his entrenchments, and took Fribourg before the end of the campaign. The emperor, chagrined at these losses, made overtures for

* 194 against 185.

peace.

peace. Conferences were held at Rastadt, between prince Eugene and Marshal Villars; and soon after a peace was ratified on both sides.

The British parliament, having sat three years, was dissolved, and writs issued for a general election. All the violence of party was exerted on this occasion; and when the new house of commons assembled on the 10th day of December, the Whig interest was found to have gained something by the contest, although it was still the minority. Meanwhile Bolingbroke, who had long been labouring to undermine the influence of the lord-treasurer over the queen and the nation, had now pretty fully effected his purpose, having gained the ear of his royal mistress to the exclusion of his rival. Another point which he strenuously laboured to accomplish, was procuring the succession to the crown for the pretender. Queen Anne was now lingering under a broken constitution: as the symptoms of her approaching end became stronger, she grew more anxious for the succession to her throne being changed in favour of the chevalier de St. George. Her conduct to her father now passed in review before her, and as her principles had ever given way to her ambition, she considered the death of her children as the stroke of heaven upon her for breaking her solemn promises to her parent. Having left her father in his extremity, in order to secure his throne to herself and her descendants, she looked upon her childless state as a punishment for her breach of duty*.

The

* The princess Anne of Denmark had written the following letter to her father in his exile, but the fascination of a crown, had quite destroyed the remembrance of it until now.

"I have been very desirous of some safe opportunity to make you a sincere and humble offer of my duty and submission to you; and to beg you will be assured, that I am both truly concerned for the misfortune of your condition, and sensible, as I ought to be, of my own unhappiness, as to what you may think I have contributed to it. If wishes could recal what is past, I had long since redeemed my fault. I am

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sensible

The parliament met on the 15th day of February 1714, when Sir Thomas Hanmer was chosen speaker. The attachment of the queen to the proscribed prince, brought on a warm debate in both houses of parliament, on the 5th day of April. The danger to which the protestant succession was exposed, was insisted on with great zeal in the house of lords. When the question was put, whither the protestant succession was in danger, on a division it was carried in the negative, by seventy-six against sixty-four. The same question was agitated in the house of commons, and was disposed of in the same manner, by a much greater majority, being two hundred and fifty-six against two hundred and eight. The ministry having thus tried their strength in both houses, proceeded to exert it in the most tyrannical and alarming manner. A bill was passed professing to prevent the growth of schism, which was designed to lay the most severe and unjust restraints upon protestant dissenters, but the queen dying on the very day this act was to have taken place, the meditated mischief was prevented.

Whilst civil dissention was daily advancing to a dangerous height, the princes Sophia died at Hanover, on the 28th day of May, in the eighty-fourth year of her age. She was a princess eminently distinguished for natural and acquired endowments, and sensible it would have been a great relief to me, if I could have found means to have acquainted you earlier with my repenting thoughts. But I hope they may find the advantage by coming late, of being less suspected of insincerity, than perhaps they would have been, at any time before. It will be a great addition to the ease I propose to my own mind by this plain confession, if I am so happy as to find it brings any real satisfaction to yours; and that you are as indulgent and easy to receive my humble submissions as I am truly desirous to make them, in a free, disinterested acknowledgment of my fault, for no other end, but to deserve and receive your pardon.

"I had a great mind to beg of you to make one compliment for me. But fearing that the expressions which would be properest for me to make use of, might perhaps be the least convenient for a letter, I must content myself at present with hoping that the bearer will be able to supply it for me.
December 1st, 1691." †

† Macpherson's State Papers; Vol. I.

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her engaging manners caused her to be much beloved. She was the fourth and youngest daughter of Frederic elector Palatine, king of Bohemia, and Elizabeth, daughter of king James I. of England. At her death the court of England appeared in mourning, and her son the elector of Brunwick, was prayed for by name, in the liturgy of the church of England. The great age of this princess would have rendered her very unfit to mount a throne; so that her death at this crisis, may be considered as giving her son a more ready access thereto. On the 9th day of July, the queen in person put an end to the session.

The dissensions in the cabinet occasioned by the disputes between Bolingbroke and Oxford, now rose to such a height, that each party threw off the restraints of decency, and descended to altercation and personal reflections. The lord-treasurer made no scruple to declare that he could produce evidence of Bolingbroke being a determined jacobite; whilst the secretary on his part openly affirmed, that he had proofs in his possession, that Oxford was in the interest of the pretender. The public who knew the dispositions of both these statesmen, for once gave credit to the assertions of both.

In these contests Bolingbroke evidently gained ground of his antagonist. In the assiento treaty lately concluded with Spain, the queen had reserved to herself the fourth part of the contract for negroes; this share was privately subdivided into sixteen parts; five were designed to the lord treasurer, five for Bolingbroke, four for lady Masham, and two for an Arthur Moore, the agent of the junto in this affair*. The earl of Oxford perceiving the dangerous state of the queen's health, sacrificed an uncertain interest for certain revenge; a few days before the parliament broke up, the lords took into consideration the trade

* Hanover paper in Macpherson's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 633.

to Spain and the West-Indies, as settled by the late treaty. In the course of this enquiry, the lord-treasurer joined those lords who insisted to hear the Spanish merchants against the treaty: he encouraged an address to the queen, requesting her majesty to apply to the use of the public, her part of the profits of the assiento contract. Bolingbroke dictated an answer that gave great offence to the lords; neither he nor the lady Masham could forgive the treasurer for a measure, which in hurting their interest had deeply wounded their pride. Soon after this transaction, the earl of Oxford was deprived of his staff. The fall of the lord-treasurer was so sudden and so unexpected, that no plan was formed for supplying the vacancy occasioned by his disgrace. The court was in the utmost confusion; and the queen, being no longer able to support the burthen of government, sunk into a state of insensibility, and thus found a refuge from her anxiety in lethargic slumbers. Every method was tried to rouse her from this state, but in vain; her physicians, despairing of her life, the privy-council assembled, when the dukes of Somerset and Argyle being informed of the desperate state in which she lay, entered that assembly without being summoned. The members were surprized at their appearance; but the duke of Shrewsbury thanking them for their readiness to give their assistance at such a critical juncture, desired them to take their places. All the necessary precautions were now taken for securing the succession in the house of Hanover; and these noblemen sent orders to the heralds at arms, and to a troop of life-guards, to be in readiness, in order to proclaim the elector of Hanover king of Great-Britain.

On the 30th of July, the queen appearing somewhat better, rose from her bed about eight in the morning; and, walking a little about her chamber, cast her eyes on the clock, and continued to gaze upon

upon it for some time. One of the ladies in waiting begged to know what she saw there more than usual, to which the queen only answered, by turning her eyes upon her with a dying look. Soon after she was seized with a fit of an apoplexy, from which she was, however, somewhat relieved by Dr. Mead's assistance. She continued all night in a state of stupefaction; but gave some signs of life between twelve and one o'clock, and expired a little after seven in the morning, on the 1st of August 1714, in the fiftieth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign.

Her majesty had issue, by the prince of Denmark,
 1. A daughter that was still-born, the 12th of May 1684.
 2. Lady Mary, a second daughter, born the 2d of June 1685, and died in February 1690.
 3. Anne Sophia, who was born the 12th of May 1686, and died the February following.
 4. William, duke of Gloucester, born the 24th of July 1689, who lived to be eleven years of age.
 5. The lady Mary, born October 1690, who lived no longer than to be baptized.
 6. George, another son, who died also soon after he was born.

Abstract of the ROYAL NAVY, as it stood at the Death of the QUEEN,

Rates.	Number.	Guns.	Men.
First	— 7 —	714	5312
Second	— 13 —	1170	7194
Third	— 39 —	2890	16089
Fourth	— 66 —	3490	16058
Fifth	— 32 —	1190	4160
Sixth	— 25 —	500	1047
	— — —	— — —	— — —
	182	9954	49,860

Fire-ships, &c. about 50.

The national debt, at the time of the queen's demise, amounted to about fifty millions.

The

The most memorable commercial transaction, during the earl of Oxford's administration, was the establishment of the South-Sea Company. When the earl of Godolphin quitted the treasury-board, a large debt remained unfunded, which had been created by deficiencies in supplies, and the application of subsidies to other services, than those for which they were originally designed. When the new ministry took the lead, the holders of these debts were formed into a company. The debts unprovided for being liquidated at nine million four hundred and seventy-one thousand three hundred and twenty-one pounds *, on which an annuity, at the rate of six per cent, was granted, by an act of parliament passed in the ninth year of queen Anne's reign, until the principal was paid; which amounted to five hundred and sixty-eight thousand two hundred and seventy-nine pounds. The company were incorporated for carrying on a trade to the South-Seas; and by their charter, there was vested in them, and their successors, the sole trade into, and from, all the kingdoms and lands on the east side of America, from the river Oroonoco to the southernmost part of Terra del Fuego; and

* The particulars of which are as follow;

Debt to the navy, old, new and deficient	5,130,559
Debt to the ordnance	254,324
Debt to transport-service	424,798
Old army-debentures of last war	1,018,656
Deficient tallies eight guineas	12,024
Provision for the navy, October, November, December, 1710	378,859
Subsidies to the duchy of Hanover, 1696	85,000
Interest on ditto, from Christmas 1710 and 1711	9,375
Loans on customs, &c. eight annæ	1,296,552
Interest on ditto	74,876
Interest on the whole, from Lady-Day to Christmas, 1711	326,326
To the year's service 1711	500,000
Add, for odd shillings and pence	3
	£. 9,477,325

For the payment of these debts, the duties on wines, vinegar, tobacco, East-India goods, wrought silks, whale fins, and sundry other duties were made perpetual.

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on the west side thereof, from the said southernmost part of Terra del Fuego, through the South-Sea, to the northernmost part of America; and into, and from all the countries, islands, and places within the said limits, which are reputed to belong to Spain, or which shall hereafter be discovered within the limits aforesaid, not exceeding three hundred leagues from the continent of America, on the west side, except the kingdom of Brazil, and such other places on the east side of America, as are now in the possession of the king of Portugal, and the county of Surinam, in the possession of the States-general. And to give the thing the greater sanction, the said company, and none else, were to trade within the said limits; and if any other person shall trade to the South-Seas, they shall forfeit the ship and goods, and double value: one fourth part to the crown, another fourth part to the prosecutor, and the other two fourths to the use of the company. And the company shall be the sole owners of the islands, forts, &c. which they shall discover within the said limits, to be held of the crown, under the annual rent of an ounce of gold, and of all ships taken as prize, by the ships of the said company; and the company may seize, by force of arms, all other British ships trading in those seas. The stock of this corporation was to arise from the subscription of these public debts, and the sum of eight thousand two hundred and seventy-nine pounds was granted for the charges of management. The governor and directors of the new company had power, by their charter, to make any call, not exceeding ten per cent. for the prosecution of this trade.

A contract then subsisted between Philip of Spain and the Guinea Company of France, commonly called the Asiento Treaty, by which the Spanish settlements in South-America were supplied with negroes,

negroes, the term of years for which this agreement was made, expired in 1713, and when a general peace was negotiating, the court of Madrid agreed to make their assiento treaty with Great Britain instead of France, who had really sustained great losses by executing the contract, although the English were buoyed up with the hope of making immense gains thereby.

This assiento contract stipulates, in the first place, that from the 1st of May 1713, to the 1st of May 1743, the company shall transport into the Spanish West-Indies, one hundred and forty-four thousand negroes of both sexes, and of all ages, at the rate of four thousand eight hundred negroes every year; that for each negroe the assientists shall pay thirty-three one-third pieces of eight, in full for all royal duties; that the said assientists shall advance his Catholic majesty two hundred thousand pieces of eight, upon the terms prescribed in the contract; that twice a year they shall pay the before-mentioned duties of four thousand negroes, his Catholic majesty giving them the duty on the other eight hundred, to balance their risk, and extraordinary expences; that his Catholic majesty, and the queen of Great Britain shall each be concerned a quarter part in the said trade, and shall be allowed a quarter of the profits, which shall be accounted for, by the assientists, upon oath. That during this space, neither the French Guinea-company, nor the subjects of any crown, shall have any licence to import negroes; and in case they should import them, they shall be considered as contraband, and the company shall have power to confiscate them, with many other clauses for the security of this trade. The king of Spain also licensed two ships of six hundred tons each, for carrying merchandize the first year to the northern ports of the Spanish West-Indies, besides an annual ship of five hundred tons: but no ship sailed during this reign; we shall therefore

fore resume this subject under the next reign, and proceed to take notice of the state of commerce during the reign of queen Anne.

By a report made in the house of commons in 1709, the revenue of the customs of Great Britain, at that time, appears to have been as follows :

The gross amount of the customs	—	2,319,320
Deduct		
Salaries and incidents	152,184	12 1
Debentures or draw-backs on foreign goods	717,190	17.2
Bounty for corn exported	36,027	1 4
Allowance for damages and over-entries	57,075	15 0
Portage paid to masters of ships	3,358	19 6
		965,837
Net produce of the customs for the year 1709		1,353,483

The net amount of the customs of England, from the year 1700 to 1714, both inclusive, appears to have been as follows :

1700	—	1,379,460
1701	—	1,637,809
1702	—	1,285,605
1703	—	1,206,349
1704	—	1,401,390
1705	—	1,139,277
1706	—	1,311,856
1707	—	1,192,081
1708	—	1,351,536
1709	—	1,353,483
1710	—	1,208,292
1711	—	1,253,598
1712	—	1,315,423
1713	—	1,541,170
1714	—	1,714,139

20,291,468

Average of the net produce of }
 the customs for one year - } 1,352,764 *

The importation of tobacco from }
 America into England, at a medium }
 of ten years, ending in 1708, is } 28,858,666
 given by Dr. D'Avenant, at pounds }
 weight per year - }

Exported on a like medium - 17,598,007

11,260,659†

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. II. p. 263.
 commissioners of accounts, part I. p. 32.

† Report to the

In

In a representation made by the East-India Company to the house of commons, in the tenth year of queen Anne's reign, against the laying additional duties on such commodities as that company imported from the east; it was asserted, that the company annually shipped for their settlements, about one hundred and fifty thousand pounds value in woollen goods, and other English product.

By an act of parliament passed in the ninth year of queen Anne, cap. 10. the former laws for establishing post-offices in both kingdoms of England and Scotland are repealed, and one general post-office, as well as one general post-master, thereby appointed for the united kingdom; and also a chief letter-office was erected at Edinburgh, Dublin, New-York, and the West-Indies. By the same act the rate of postage was augmented: what before paid two-pence, was now advanced to three-pence; and for double letters six-pence. The penny post-office established within London, Westminster, Southwark, and parts adjacent, is first mentioned in this statute. It appears by this act, that the gross amount of the post-office revenue, ending at Michaelmas 1710, was — — — 111,461, 17, 10 the net amount of the three last years is laid down by Dr. D'Avenant, at — — — 56,664, 19, 10*

As the progressive wealth and improvement of the nation may be safely inferred from the increase of this branch of the revenue, it may be thought curious to remark, that when a general post-office was first established in England, in the year 1660, it then brought in a revenue of twenty-one thousand pounds a year; which is supposed to have been the amount, after contingent expences were defrayed. In the course of

* New Dialogues.

fifty-one years, we find the net revenue to amount to fifty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-four pounds; and seven years after that, (in the year 1718) by a printed report to the house of commons, the medium then was, sixty two thousand pounds for England, and two thousand pounds for Scotland: a surprising increase.

The balance accruing to England from her foreign trade, during the war, or the merchandize exported to foreign parts, exceeded the imports by two million three hundred eighty nine thousand eight hundred and seventy two pounds: which sum England may be supposed to have gained every year by her foreign commerce*.

In November 1711, the prices of the public stocks were as follow:

East-India stock 124 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Bank stock 111 $\frac{1}{2}$.

South-Sea stock 77 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Royal African stock 4 $\frac{1}{2}$.

By an act passed in the 12th year of queen Anne's reign; (cap 16.) the legal rate of interest was reduced from six to five per cent. in which act the word usury is made use of to express the legal interest of money lent, according to its ancient signification, although that term is now commonly applied to illegal or exorbitant interest only.

Another act of parliament passed the same session†, provides a public reward for such person or persons as shall discover the longitude at sea. This bill was brought into the house at the joint petition of Mr. Whiston and Mr. Dutton; founded on the opinions of Sir Isaac Newton and Dr. Halley. By this act, the board of admiralty, the speaker of the house of

* Wood's Survey of Trade;

† 12th Anne, session 2. cap. 15.

commons,

commoners, and other great officers, by virtue of their offices, and other persons therein named, are constituted commissioners for trying and judging of all proposals; experiments and improvements relating to the longitude; and any five of them are empowered to act. These being satisfied of the probability of the discovery, are directed to certify their opinion to the commissioners of the navy, who are empowered to make out a bill for any sum, not exceeding two thousand pounds, as the commissioners of the longitude shall think necessary for making the experiments; who shall report how far they have succeeded. The ultimate reward for the discoverer of the longitude if he determines it to one degree, or sixty geographical miles, is fixed by this statute at ten thousand pounds; if two-thirds of a degree, fifteen thousand pounds, and if half a degree twenty thousand pounds.

About this time, (1714,) the emperor Charles VI. first granted commissions to ships fitted out at Ostend, for trading to East-India, whereby great quantities of East-India goods were brought to Europe, which very much interfered with the English and Dutch Companies. Most of these interloping ships, as well as their commanders and secret projectors, were nevertheless procured from England and Holland. Some ships under the emperor's commission were fitted out at Lisbon and Leghorn. Loud complaints were carried to the court of Vienna by the English and Dutch, but no redress could at that time be obtained.

In the year 1712, the French king granted a patent to his secretary the Sieur Anthony Crozat, for fifteen years, of the whole commerce of all the king's lands in North America, lying between New France on the north, Carolina on the east, and New Mexico on the west, down to the gulph of Florida, by the
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the name of Louisiana. In the preamble to this patent, the French king says, that having in the year 1683 given orders to the Sieur de la Salle to make discovery of the country above described, he succeeded so well as to leave it beyond a doubt, that a communication might be opened between the bay of Mexico and New France, by means of certain vast rivers. The first settlement which the French had made in those parts, as it was only at the mouth of the river Mississippi, was an encroachment upon Spain alone, it being within the limits of Florida; but by the grant to Crozat, Louis declared without disguise his design of joining Louisiana to New France, or Canada, and thereby hemming in the English colonies, situated between the river Mississippi and the sea eastward: and such was the supineness or incapacity of the English ministry, that they made no opposition to a grant, by which the foundation was laid for establishing the power of France on the ruin of that of England in America.

“Crozat,” says the Abbé Raynal, “was one of those men born for great enterprises. He possessed a superiority of talents and sentiments which enabled him to undertake the greatest actions, and condescend to the least for the service of the state; and wished to derive all his fame from the glory of his country. The soil of Louisiana was not the object of this active genius. He could not be ignorant of its barrenness, nor did it ever appear that he had any idea of attempting to improve it. His intention was to open communications both by land and sea with Old and New Mexico, to pour in all kinds of merchandise into those parts, and to draw from thence a great quantity of piastres. The place he had asked for, appeared to him to be the natural and necessary mart for his vast operations; and all the steps taken by his agents were regulated upon this noble plan,
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But being undeceived by several fruitless attempts, he relinquished his scheme, and in 1717, resigned his privilege to a company whose success astonished the world.

In the course of this reign, the city of St. Petersburg was erected, under the direction of the Czar of Muscovy, Peter the great. That extraordinary man, having conquered from Sweden the fine provinces of Livonia, Ingria, and Carelia, formed a design of opening a free and new communication between Russia and the Baltic Sea; he therefore laid the design of erecting a new metropolis and emporium at the mouth of the river Neva, from whence he might more commodiously awe his enemies of the north, and open a communication with the rest of Europe by means of the Baltic, by a much shorter and safer course than from Archangel. He therefore brought thither a vast number of labourers and artificers from all parts of his vast empire; many thousands of whom are said to have perished through cold, hunger, and distempers, in that swampy spot; notwithstanding which, in the course of ten years, he surmounted all obstacles, and having through his despotic sway, obliged his nobility, merchants, artizans and others to erect and inhabit houses in this new city, and alluring thither many sea-faring people from Livonia and other parts, by a prospect of advantage, he gave it the name of St. Petersburg, which very soon became a large and populous city. By the erection of this new mart of trade, the port of Archangel in the White Sea, to which upwards of one hundred ships from England, Holland, France and Hamburg used annually to resort, has greatly declined in its commerce.

T H E
N A V A L H I S T O R Y
O F
G R E A T B R I T A I N.

B O O K V.

The Naval History of GREAT-BRITAIN, with a cursory View of its civil Transactions, from the Accession of the House of HANOVER to the Death of King GEORGE I.

C H A P. I.

From the Accession of King George I. to the War with Spain in 1718.

Alterations in the Admiralty—Commanders of the Navy at the Accession of King George I.—Dispute with the Swedes—Squadron sent into the Baltic—Rebellion in Scotland—Death of Louis XIV.—Supplies granted—Triple Alliance—Hostilities committed by the Barbary States—Bravery of Captain Delgarno—Destruction of the Saltee Rovers—A large Fleet sent into the Baltic—Supplies granted by Parliament—Commerce with Sweden prohibited—Judicious Measures taken to suppress the American Buccaneers

neers—Death of Charles XII. of Sweden—Dispute with Spain—Sir George Byng sent with a Fleet into the Mediterranean—Engagement between the English and Spanish Fleets off Cape Passano—Gallant Behaviour of Captain George Walton—Transactions in the Baltic.

THE accession of the elector of Hanover to the British throne, on the death of his cousin queen Anne, again gave the nation a parliamentary king, to the exclusion of the slavish doctrine of hereditary right. This event was brought about by a statute made in the twelfth year of king William III. for limiting the succession of the crown; by which, after the death of the queen, then princess Anne, without issue, it was to pass to the most illustrious house of Hanover, as the next protestant heirs; for the princess Sophia, electress dowager of Hanover, was daughter to the queen of Bohemia, who, before her marriage with the elector Palatine, was styled the princess Elizabeth of Great Britain, daughter to James VI. of Scotland, and I. of England; in whom united all the hereditary claims to the Imperial crown of these realms. But, the princess Sophia dying a very little while before the queen, George-Lewis, elector of Hanover her son, became heir of this crown, on the demise of queen Anne, and was accordingly called to the succession, in the manner directed by another statute, passed in the ninth year of her majesty's reign. For, by that law, the administration of the government, immediately on the queen's death, devolved on seven persons named in the act, in conjunction with as many as the successor should think fit to appoint, in the manner directed by that law.

On the 17th day of August the earl of Berkley sailed with a squadron of sixteen men of war, and six yachts for Holland, in order to attend his ma-

jeſty, where he was joined by eight ſhips of the ſtates-general, under rear-admiral Coperan; and to ſecure the coaſts and the channel, admiral Wager was ſent down to Portſmouth, and Sir Thomas Hardy to Plymouth, to equip ſuch ſhips as were fit for ſervice.

The king arrived ſoon after in England, and made his public entry into the city of London, on the 20th day of September. That deſtructive miniſtry which had diſgraced the nation, ſacrificed its eſſential intereſts to their own ambition, and who might juſtly be compared for their pernicious meaſures to the cabal miniſtry under the ſecond Charles, were immediately diſmiſſed. The Tories found no countenance from the new king. The duke of Ormond, who was at the head of the army, was ſucceeded by the duke of Marlborough. The great ſeal was given to lord Cowper; the privy ſeal to the earl of Wharton; lord Townſend and Mr. Stanhope were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate; Mr. Pultney was made ſecretary at war; and Mr. Walpole paymaſter to the army. A new privy council was appointed, and the earl of Nottingham declared preſident. The board of admiralty was totally changed. Inſtead of Thomas earl of Stafford, Sir John Leake, Sir William Drake, John Aiſlabie, Eſq; Sir James Wiſhart, and Dr. John Clarke, who were there on the demise of the late queen, his majeſty appointed Edward earl of Orford, Sir George Byng, George Dodington, Eſq; Sir John Jennings, Sir Charles Turnor, Abraham Stanyan, and George Baillie, Eſqrs. In the month of November, Matthew Aylmer, Eſq; was declared admiral and commander in chief of his majeſty's fleet; and ſoon after, Sir Charles Wager, rear-admiral of the red, was ſent to relieve Sir James Wiſhart, in the Mediterranean *.

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* In order to render the ſubſequent Hiſtory more clear, it will be requiſite to give the reader a ſhort ſtate of the commands in the navy, at the acceſſion of king George I.

Sir

A new parliament was summoned, and met at Westminster, March the 17th, 1715, and on the first of April, they came to a resolution, to allow ten thousand seamen at four pounds a month; and on the 9th of May following, granted one hundred and thirty-five thousand five hundred and seventy-four pounds three shillings and sixpence for the half-pay of sea-officers; one hundred and ninety-seven thousand eight hundred and ninety-six pounds seventeen shillings and six-pence for the ordinary of the navy; and two hundred and thirty-seven thousand two hundred and seventy-seven pounds for the extraordinary repairs of the navy, and rebuilding of ships. These large sums were thought necessary, because, at this juncture, the fleet of Great Britain was very much decayed; and it was foreseen that, notwithstanding the peace so lately concluded, new disputes were likely to arise, which might require fresh armaments.

The new parliament passed an act for enlarging the fund of the bank of England, relating particularly to exchequer bills. This was commonly called the aggregate fund, though not applied to constitute a part of the general sinking fund for lessening the national debts, until three years after. By another act of the same session, the capital stock and yearly fund of the South-Sea Company were enlarged. Queen Anne had informed her parliament a little before her death, that her quarter part of the assiento contract with Spain, was delivered up to the South-Sea Com-

Sir John Leake, Knt. rear-admiral of Great Britain.

Matthew Aylmer, Esq; admiral and commander in chief of his majesty's fleet.

Sir James Withart, Knt. admiral of the white Squadron.

Sir John Norris, Knt. admiral of the blue.

James earl of Berkley, vice-admiral of the red.

Sir Edward Whetaker, Knt. vice-admiral of the white.

John Baker, Esq; vice-admiral of the blue.

Sir Charles Wager, Knt. rear-admiral of the red.

Sir Hovenden Walker, rear-admiral of the white.

Sir Thomas Hardy, Knt. rear-admiral of the blue.

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pany, but this not having been formally conveyed, king George confirmed that grant soon after his accession, as also of four ships, two of which were for the purpose of carrying out the company's goods, factors, &c. the other two were ships of war to escort them thither. These ships sailed to America the beginning of the year 1715. The port to which the company were allowed to trade, and at which to settle factories, were Panama in the South-Sea, Porto Bello, Carthagena, and Vera Cruz in the Atlantic Ocean, Buenos-Ayres on the Rio de la Plata, and the port of Havannah in the island of Cuba; besides their inland sub-factories in New Spain, and their agents at Jamaica, as well as at Cadiz and Madrid in Old Spain.

A bill was brought into the house of commons for the better regulation of the charter and proprietary governments in America, and of his majesty's plantations there. The principal scope of which was for the reducing all the proprietary charter-governments into regal ones. Ever since the death of Charles II. when the proprietary colonies began to be considerable, and more especially since the revolution, the administration had it in contemplation to purchase from the proprietors their territorial rights. Overtures were therefore made, and a treaty was set on foot with William Penn for the purchase of his fine province of Pennsylvania. He demanded twenty thousand pounds, and queen Anne in council, referred the matter to the consideration of the lords of the treasury. The terms were at length agreed upon, and twelve thousand pounds was the price to be paid for that province; soon after which the proprietor was seized with an apoplexy, which prevented the completion of the bargain, until by the queen's order a bill should be brought into parliament for that purpose. Whilst that bill was depending in parliament,
Mr.

Mr. Joshua Gee and others, who were mortgages under Penn, petitioned the house of commons for relief, and in discussing the business, such difficulties arose as occasioned the bill to be thrown out. When the subject came now to be revived, each proprietor shewed a great reluctance to alienate his possessions. The guardians of lord Baltimore, then a minor, petitioned the house that Maryland might be excepted in the grant of American provinces which the bill was designed to convey. The revenue arising from the civil government of that province they stated to amount to three thousand pounds per annum. A like petition was presented by the agent for the provinces of Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut; the former of which represented that it derived its charter from king James I. which was afterwards confirmed by king Charles I. whereby the governor and company of the Massachusetts Bay are empowered to appoint their own officers, civil, and military, with other privileges. It set forth that in the reign of James II. their charter was vacated, at the same time that many corporations in England were disfranchised; that after the revolution, king William restored the charter, only reserving to himself the appointment of a governor, lieutenant governor, secretary, judge of the admiralty, and the attorney general, which charter the province then enjoyed. They therefore humbly conceive that the charter of their province, being on the same footing with the corporations in England, it seems equally hard to divest them of it, as it would be to disfranchise the corporations at home. They farther urged that the province had given a valuable consideration to the crown for their charter, viz. the subduing and planting a wilderness, at a vast expence, and with the loss of many lives, whereby they had added a large territory to the crown, as well as greatly increased the

the trade and commerce of Britain. That they had at no time abused the power which they possess, by exercising it in an oppressive and unwarrantable manner, (which was alledged against the lords proprietors of Carolina, and caused this bill to be brought into parliament) neither have they neglected the defence of the inhabitants, but on the contrary have well defended both themselves and their neighbours in a long French and Indian war; and their ordinary charge for guards, garrisons, guardships, &c. has been thirty-five thousand pounds one year with another. And though hereby the province has contracted a debt of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, yet they do not complain, nor are they burdensome to the crown, but are paying it off yearly by degrees; but if they be deprived of their charter, no compensation can be made for it, whereas in the case of proprietary governments, an equivalent can be given to the proprietors; but here it cannot be, because the privileges are not vested in particular persons, but in the body of the people. The petition of the colony of Connecticut was exactly similar. Petitions were also presented in behalf of the duke of Beaufort and the lord Craven, both minors, to be heard by council against the passing of the said bill, they being considerable proprietors in Carolina and the Bahama Islands. As also from the agent of Rhode Island and Providence plantation in New England, these were referred to the committee to whom the bill was committed, and most probably occasioned the bill to be dropped*.

A misunderstanding had for sometime subsisted between Sweden and the maritime powers: the Swedes complaining that Great Britain and Holland furnished the Czar with ships, and warlike stores, in

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. II. p. 269.

confe-

consequence of which, the Swedish privateers took many ships in the Baltic belonging to the English and Dutch merchants. The ministers of England and the States-general had presented memorials to the regency of Sweden, but not being able to procure redress, both States resolved to protect their trade by force of arms. Sir John Norris, admiral of the blue, was appointed to this service, with a fleet of twenty sail, and under him Sir Thomas Hardy, rear-admiral of the blue, eighteen of these were ships of the line, together with the Mermaid frigate of thirty-two guns, and the Drake sloop, which carried sixteen.

On the 18th day of May this fleet sailed to the Baltic, and arrived at the Sound on the 10th day of June following, where it joined the Dutch squadron. The combined fleet then took the merchantmen of both countries under their protection, and conveyed them to their respective ports.

The English admiral then dispatched an express to Stockholm, to procure from the regency of Sweden a categorical answer concerning the measures they meant to pursue, offering at the same time to enter into a negotiation for determining the disputes which had arisen between the two nations. The answer he received from the court of Sweden was so vague and unsatisfactory, that our admiral determined no longer to suspend his operations.

About the middle of August, a Danish fleet of twenty ships of the line, and a Russian squadron joined Sir John Norris. The Czar Peter was then at Copenhagen, where this confederate fleet was assembled. As this prince intended to sail in one of his own ships, he was complimented with the chief command of the whole armament; under him Sir John Norris commanded the Vanguard; the Czar was in the centre of the line of battle, the Danish admiral, count Guelldenlow, commanded the rear; and the Dutch

Dutch commodore, with his squadron, and five British men of war proceeded with forty-six merchant-ships which had just then arrived from England, for the ports to which they were destined in the Baltic. The Swedes were at that time powerful at sea, although far from able to face so large a fleet. They were therefore obliged to shelter themselves in the harbour of Carlsroon, so that the confederates remained undisputed masters on the Baltic. In the middle of November a violent storm attacked the grand fleet near Copenhagen, in which the *August*, a sixty gun ship was lost, and likewise the *Garland*, of twenty-four guns. Soon after, the English and Dutch ships were called home.

While a part of our navy was thus employed in the Baltic, the disaffected party in England and Scotland were exerting themselves in the cause of the pretender. The ministry at the same time were proceeding with great activity against all such as were concerned in making the peace of *Utrecht*. Prior, who had been sent out ambassador to the court of France by queen Anne, was recalled, and the earl of Stair appointed to that embassy, with particular instructions to hasten the demolition of the port and fortifications of *Dunkirk*, and the canal of *Mardyke*, which that minister was extremely active in accomplishing. Lord *Bolingbroke* had been removed from his post of secretary, and the dukes of *Shrewsbury* and *Somerset*, and lord *Cowper*, sealed up all the doors of his office. Mr. *Walpole* acquainted the house of commons, that notwithstanding the endeavours which had been used to prevent a discovery of the late mismanagements, by conveying away several papers from the secretary's office; yet the government had sufficient evidence left, to prove the late ministry the most corrupt that ever sat at the helm. Hereupon, lord *Bolingbroke*, who had hitherto appeared in public as usual, and had

had spoke in the house of lords with great freedom and confidence, thought it now high time to save himself by a precipitate flight. He therefore retired to France.

On the 9th day of April 1715, general Stanhope delivered to the house of commons fourteen volumes, in which were contained all the papers relating to the late negotiations of peace and commerce, as well as to the cessation of arms, the consideration of which was referred to a select committee, of which Mr. Walpole was chosen chairman.

On the 9th day of June, Mr. Walpole informed the house that the report was ready to be made, and in the mean time moved, that a warrant might be issued by the speaker for the apprehending Mr. Matthew Prior and Mr. Thomas Harley, who being at that time in the house, were immediately taken into custody. Then he read the report, ranged under these different heads: the clandestine negotiation with monsieur Menager: the extraordinary measures pursued to form the congress at Utrecht: the trifling of the French plenipotentiaries, by the connivance of the British ministers: the negotiation about the renunciation of the Spanish monarchy: the fatal suspension of arms: the seizure of Ghent and Bruges, in order to distress the allies and favour the French: the duke of Ormond's acting in concert with the French general: the lord Bolingbroke's journey to France to negotiate a separate peace: Mr. Prior's and the duke of Shrewsbury's negotiations in France: the precipitate conclusion of the peace at Utrecht. He then impeached Henry lord viscount Bolingbroke of high treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanors. Then lord Coningsby standing up said, "The worthy chairman has impeached the hand, but I empeach the head: he has impeached the clerk and I the justice. He has impeached the scholar, and I the master. I impeach

Robert earl of Oxford and Mortimer of high-treason, and other crimes and misdemeanors." To which the house assented without a division. The duke of Ormond was a few days after impeached. The duke to avoid the consequences that might ensue, retired out of the kingdom.

On the 20th day of July, the king went to the house of peers, to give the royal assent to such bills as were ready, the unsettled state of public affairs having occasioned the parliament to continue sitting. He then informed both houses that a rebellion was actually broke out at home, and that the nation was threatened with an invasion from abroad. He therefore called upon the commons to enable him to take the necessary measures for the public safety. The parliament forthwith passed an act, empowering the king to secure suspected persons, and to suspend the habeas-corpus act in that time of danger. A clause was added to a money-bill, offering the reward of one hundred thousand pounds to such as should seize the pretender dead or alive. Sir George Byng was sent to take the command of the fleet: general Eyre repaired to his government of Portsmouth: the guards were encamped in Hyde-park: lord Irwin was appointed governor of Hull, in the room of brigadier Sutton, who, with lord Windsor, the generals Ross, Webb, and Stuart, were dismissed from the service. Orders were given for raising thirteen regiments of dragoons, and eight of infantry; and the trained-bands were kept in readiness to suppress tumults. In the midst of these transactions the commons added six articles to those exhibited against the earl of Oxford. Lord Bolingbroke was impeached at the bar of the house of lords by Mr. Walpole: bills being brought in to summon him and the duke of Ormond, to surrender themselves by the tenth of September, or in default thereof, to attain them of high-treason.

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The rebellion broke out under the influence and direction of the earl of Mar, who was soon joined by the clans; and the duke of Argyll being sent down against him, it quickly appeared how ill their measures had been taken. His grace had, indeed, but a small number of regular troops under his command; but his interest was so extensive, that he not only engaged many powerful families to declare for king George, but, which perhaps was the greater service of the two, engaged many more to remain quiet, who otherwise had joined the rebels. The business was decided by the battle of Sheriff-Moor, near Dumblain, fought November 13, 1715, the same day that general Foster and the English Jacobites surrendered at Preston. Yet, after this, the Chevalier de St. George ventured over into Scotland, in a very poor vessel; where, soon finding his affairs desperate, and his person in the utmost danger, he contrived to make his escape from the north, with the utmost secrecy; which he effected, by going on board a clean tallow'd French snow, which sailed out of the harbour of Montrose, February the 3d, in sight of some English men of war, but kept so close along shore, it was impossible to follow her*.

The death of Louis XIV. which happened on the 1st day of September 1715, was a severe stroke upon the interests of the pretender, and the spirit of Jacobitism in Great Britain. That prince, who died at the age of seventy-seven years, had disturbed the repose of Europe for more than half a century. He ever sacrificed the essential interests of his own kingdom to the ostentatious glare of greatness, and had brought it to the brink of destruction, by his unmeasurable ambition. His great grandson the duke of Anjou, then an infant, succeeded him in the throne,

* Historical Register, Oldmixon, Annals of king George, &c.

under the title of Louis XV. The government of the kingdom then devolved on the duke of Orleans; who adopted a new system of politics, and entered into engagements with the king of Great Britain. Instead of assisting the pretender, he amused his agents with mysterious and equivocal expressions, calculated to frustrate the design of the expedition.

The parliament, which re-assembled on the 9th of January 1716, granted very large supplies for the year, viz. ten thousand seamen at the rate of four pounds per month; the sum of two hundred and thirty-three thousand eight hundred and forty-nine pounds nineteen shillings and six-pence, for the ordinary of the navy; and twenty-three thousand six hundred and twenty-three pounds, for the extraordinary repairs of the navy. In this session the bill for triennial parliaments was repealed, and the duration of parliaments extended to the term of seven years.

At this time some of the pyratrical states in Barbary having broke the peace, admiral Baker, who had the command of the English Squadron in the Mediterranean, had orders to bring them to reason; which he easily accomplished; but the Sallee Rovers still did great mischief, and that with impunity; for their ships were so small, and drew so little water, that our men of war were seldom able to come up with them. At last, captain Delgarno, one of the most active officers in the navy, in his majesty's ship the *Hind*, of twenty guns only, came up with one of their best men of war of twenty-four guns, and after an obstinate engagement of two hours and a half, obliged her to strike; but soon after she unfortunately sunk and all her crew, except thirty-eight hands, perished: this, with the loss of another vessel of eight guns, and two more of sixteen guns each, which were forced on shore by his majesty's ship the

Bridge-

Bridgewater, delivered in a great measure the English commerce in the Mediterranean, from the interruptions given it by these pirates *.

In the month of June 1716, his majesty went over to Holland, escorted by an English squadron, and from thence continued his journey by land to Hanover, where the disturbances in the north made his presence at that time particularly necessary, and where he continued the rest of the year; at the close of which, admiral Aylmer sailed with a squadron to Holland, to escort him home. The king, whilst he continued on the Continent, negotiated a treaty between the regent of France and the States of Holland; the pretender was no longer suffered to reside in France or Lorrain, but obliged to remove to the other side of the Alps. The treaty contained a mutual guarantee of all the places possessed by the contracting powers; of the protestant succession to the throne of Great Britain, and of the duke of Orleans to the throne of France, in case the infant king should die without issue male; a defensive alliance was likewise entered into hereby, and the proportion of ships and forces, to be furnished by that power which should be disturbed at home or invaded from abroad, was specified.

The king was not so successful in adjusting the differences which had arisen between him and Charles king of Sweden. Some time before, a treaty had been concluded between the elector of Hanover and the king of Denmark, by which the duchies of Bremen and Venden, which the Danes had taken from the Swedes, were made over to the elector, for a valuable consideration, and on condition that he should immediately declare war against Sweden. The elector, a few weeks after his accession to the British throne,

* Oldmixon, Historical Register, London Gazette, &c.

took possession of these duchies, and published a declaration of war in his German dominions. Overtures were made to the king of Sweden to put an end to this quarrel, but Charles made the restitution of Bremen and Verden the essential preliminary to a peace, and the other as resolutely persisted in retaining them.

It has been already shewn, that this dispute was very injurious to the trade from England to the Baltic; and perhaps it may be thought that this unnecessary quarrel, which exposed these kingdoms to imminent danger, whilst they were no ways concerned in the dispute, is one of the heaviest imputations on the conduct of this intelligent prince.

Charles XII. determined to express his resentment against king George, by lending his assistance to promote the interest of the Chevalier de St. George, and supported by so determined and indefatigable a prince; the cause of that fugitive was likely to prove more successful than when backed by the feeble efforts of the court of Versailles, who seem to have regarded the Stuart line in no other manner, than as they furnished the means for keeping up the party-divisions and animosities, which had become as it were, constitutional in England, and never exerted themselves strenuously to restore that race to the throne of their ancestors. When the king returned from the Continent, he informed the council of the dangerous designs which were formed against the tranquillity of the nation, by the Swedish monarch; in consequence of which, a warrant was issued for seizing the papers as well as the person of count Oyllenbourg, the Swedish minister at the court of London, which was accordingly done. This unprecedented step spread a general alarm among the foreign ministers; until they were assured by government, that the measure was taken on account of the count's being con-

concerned in a plot against the state, and that an act of his, as an ambassador, had drawn on him this treatment. The good understanding which now subsisted between Great Britain and the United States, procured baron Goertz, the Swedish resident at the Hague, to be seized in like manner. Great discoveries were made by the papers and dispatches which were found in the possession of these ministers; and all such as related to the intended invasion, were made public, and served fully to justify the means which were used in procuring them.

The parliament met on the 20th day of February, when this transaction was laid before the commons. The house shewed the warmest resentment at the insolence of Charles, and passed a bill to prohibit all commerce with Sweden. Ten thousand seamen were voted for the service of the year 1717; two hundred and twenty-six thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine pounds, for the ordinary of the navy; and twenty thousand seven hundred and sixty-one pounds, for the extraordinary repairs, and for the furnishing such sea stores as might be necessary. A grand fleet was formed, consisting of twenty-two ships of the line, besides frigates, which was to proceed to the Baltic, under the command of Sir George Byng. This fleet sailed on the 30th day of March for Copenhagen.

Soon after the sailing of Sir George Byng, the king sent a message to the house of commons, signifying a desire that his parliament would enable him to secure his kingdoms against the danger which threatened them from Sweden, by granting him a supply. This produced a warm debate; but at length two hundred and fifty thousand pounds were voted by the commons, (one hundred and sixty-four

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against

against one hundred and forty-nine;) to enable his majesty to concert such measures with foreign princes and states, as may prevent any charge and apprehension from the designs of Sweden for the future. Mr. Walpole and the speaker of the house of commons, voted against the grant. When the proceedings of the committee were reported to the house, the question was carried but by four voices, viz. yeas one hundred and fifty-three; noes one hundred and forty-nine. The next morning, Mr. Secretary Stanhope let the lord Townshend know, that his majesty had no further occasion for his service, as lord lieutenant of Ireland: whereupon, Mr. Walpole first commissioner of the treasury; Mr. Methuen secretary of state; and Mr. Pulteney secretary at war, laid down their employments. A few days after, Edward Russell, earl of Orford, resigned his office of first lord of the admiralty; upon which, his majesty thought proper to change that board, and accordingly, James earl of Berkley; Matthew Aylmer, Esq; Sir George Byng, James Cockburn, and William Chetwynd, Esqrs. were made lords commissioners.

: The earl of Oxford had been near two years a prisoner in the Tower, and now took the favourable opportunity of this dissention among his enemies, to petition for his trial. This was accordingly brought on in Westminster-hall; the lord chancellor Cowper being appointed high-steward. The earl was brought from the Tower by water, and conducted to the bar, on the 24th of June; when Mr. Hampden, one of the managers for the commons, recapitulated the charge against him in a long speech; and Sir Joseph Jekyll was proceeding to make good the first article, when the lord Harcourt made a motion that the commons should not be permitted to proceed against the earl, in making good the articles for high crimes and misdemeanors, till judgment was first given upon the
the

the article of high-treason; and after a long debate, this was carried in the affirmative. Hence arose a difference between the two houses; the commons resolving to proceed in their own way, and the lords as strenuously adhering to theirs. At length, in the beginning of July, the lords proceeded to the trial; and three proclamations were made, for the earl of Oxford's accusers to appear and make good the articles of his impeachment; and no body appearing, all the peers who were present unanimously acquitted his lordship, not only of high treason, but of the charge of high crimes and misdemeanors.

Sir George Byng arrived in the road of Copenhagen on the 11th day of April, the next day he had an audience of the king, and assisted at several conferences, which were held in the succeeding week, in order to settle the operations by sea, and the command of the confederate fleet, in case the several squadrons should join. Sir George next detached five ships of the line to cruise in the Categat, between Gottenburgh and the Point of Schagen, to cover the trade from the Swedish privateers. The Danish cruizers being likewise employed for the same purpose, the passage was so effectually secured, that no ships could pass out of that port*. The arrival of this fleet in the Baltic put an effectual stop to the great projects formed by the Swedes, who thereupon laid aside their design of embarking troops at Carls-croon. Sir George appointed a detachment from his fleet to cruise off Gottenburg, the command of which was given to captain Lestock of the Panther. On the 30th day of April he took a Swedish privateer dogger, of six guns and seventy-two men, commanded by St. Leger, who had before taken an English packet. The same day he retook a Dutch hoy,

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* Lediard's Naval History, p. 871.

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B b b

which

which the Swedes had made prize of the day before ; and the next day he took the privateer that had captured her. Several other small Swedish privateers fell into their hands *.

When the season of the year began to advance, as no enemy appeared, Sir George Byng determined on returning home with the chief part of the fleet, and accordingly, on the 2d of November, he passed the Sound, with nine English men of war, three frigates, and three vessels of small burthen, leaving behind him six men of war to act in conjunction with the Danish fleet ; on the 15th of the same month, he arrived at the mouth of the Thames.

At the representation of the French minister residing here, who had express instructions from the duke of Orleans for that purpose, count Gyllenbourg was set at liberty, as also baron Goertz, who had been confined in Holland.

The commerce of the West-India Islands was now greatly annoyed, by a number of daring and insolent pirates who infested those seas, and who having possessed themselves of some of the Bahama Islands, particularly Harbour island, and Providence, sallied forth from thence, and even carried their depredations northward along the coast of the American continent. On the 5th day of September †, a proclamation was issued, offering a free pardon to all such West-Indian free-booters, as should surrender themselves within a twelve month, for all piracies which they should have committed before the 5th day of January preceding. After the expiration of the time of surrender limited in this proclamation, a reward was offered to any of his majesty's officers by sea or land, who should take a pirate, upon his being legally convicted : for a captain they were entitled to

* Gazette, June 28, 1717.

† A. D. 1717.

one hundred pounds; for any other officer from a lieutenant down to a gunner, forty pounds; for an inferior officer thirty pounds; and for every private man twenty pounds. Any pirate delivering up a captain or commodore was entitled to two hundred pounds reward upon his conviction.

The prohibition laid on the trade to Sweden, was severely felt by the merchants; who loudly complained of the measures pursued by administration against that kingdom. The Dutch, although leagued in the quarrel, had the address to throw off all the inconveniences resulting from it; their trade with Sweden was not only kept open, but greatly augmented; for they now became the carriers for Great Britain, who was obliged to receive all the products of that nation, by the way of Holland, and on board of Dutch shipping.

The parliament met on the 21st day of November, and soon after voted ten thousand seamen, and two hundred and twenty-four thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven pounds for the ordinary of the navy. On the 17th day of March*, the king sent a message to the house, informing them that as he was then engaging in several negotiations, of the utmost concern to the welfare of these kingdoms, and the tranquillity of Europe, and having lately received information from abroad, which makes him judge that it would give weight to his endeavours; if a naval force be employed where it shall be necessary, he thinks fit to acquaint his commons therewith, not doubting, but that in case he should be obliged at this critical juncture, to exceed the number of men granted this year, for the sea service, the house will at their next meeting provide for such excess. Hereupon an address was voted unanimously, promising to

* A. D. 1718.

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make

make good all such engagements as might be found necessary to be made. Some alterations at the admiralty-board took place the next day, James earl of Berkley, Sir George Byng, Sir John Jennings, John Cockburn, and William Chetwynd, Esqrs. Sir John Norris, and Sir Charles Wager, were declared commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of England, Ireland, &c. the right honourable James earl of Berkley, to be vice-admiral of Great Britain, and Matthew Aylmer, Esq; to be rear-admiral of Great Britain, who was soon after raised to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Ireland.

A large fleet was put into commission, and every thing indicated hostile intentions in the ministry. This drew from the Spanish ambassador a memorial, expressing the alarm which such proceedings had given to the court of Madrid, in answer to which he was informed, that it was not the intention of his Britannic majesty to conceal the destination of the armament which was then assembled. The king therefore declared, that he meant to send Sir George Byng therewith into the Mediterranean, in order to maintain the neutrality of Italy, against any power that should attempt to violate it.

Whilst the misunderstanding between Great Britain and the court of Sweden still continued, the Czar of Muscovy, conceived a secret disgust at the conduct of king George. Wismar had been taken by the allies. This place Peter intended to bestow on his niece, who had been lately married to the duke of Mecklenburgh Swerin, he had therefore sent a large body of troops to assist in reducing it, but it had surrendered before they arrived, and the Russians were not admitted into the garrison. What farther tended to displease this monarch was, that when Gyllenburg's letters were published in London, some passages seemed to favour the supposition of the Czar being

being privy to the conspiracy. His minister at the court of London, presented a long memorial, complaining that the king had caused to be printed, the malicious insinuations of his enemies, and denied his master having the least concern in the design of the Swedish king. It then proceeded to charge the court of England, with having privately treated of a separate peace with Charles of Sweden; and even with having promised to assist him against the Czar, on condition that he would relinquish his pretensions to Bremen and Verden. It concluded with expressing a hearty desire to re-establish that good understanding which had long subsisted between England and Russia, and that the two empires might cordially unite in prosecuting the war against the common enemy. This memorial was replied to by the king of Great Britain, and the sentiments of the two monarchs remained the same.

The Czar Peter, who generally negotiated in person, went to the court of Versailles, where he concluded a treaty of friendship with the duke of Orleans, regent of France. He then proceeded to Amsterdam, and held private conferences with Goertz, the Swedish minister, who undertook to adjust all differences between the Czar and his master within three months; and Peter engaged to suspend all operations against Sweden, until that term should be expired: A congress was opened at Abo, between the Swedish and Russian ministers; but the conferences were afterwards removed to Åland. By this convention, the Czar obliged himself to assist Charles in the conquest of Norway; and they promised to unite all their forces against the king of Great-Britain, should he presume to interpose. Both were incensed against that prince; and one part of their design was to raise the pretender to the throne of England. Baron Goertz set out from Åland for Frederickstadt in

in Norway, with the plan of peace; but before he arrived, Charles was killed by a cannon-ball from the town, as he visited the trenches, on the 13th of November, 1718. The death of Charles was fortunate for king George. Sweden was now obliged to submit: while the czar, the king of Denmark, and the elector of Hanover, kept possession of what they had acquired in the course of the war. The king had not yet received the investiture of these duchies; and, until that should be procured, it was necessary to espouse with warmth the interests of the emperor. This was another source of misunderstanding between Great Britain and Spain. Prince Eugene gained a most complete victory over a prodigious army of the Turks at Belgrade, which was surrendered to him after the battle. The emperor had engaged in this war as an ally of the Venetians, whom the Turks had attacked and driven from the Morea. The pope considered it as a religious war against the Infidels; and obtained repeated assurances from the king of Spain, that he would not undertake any thing against the emperor, while he was engaged in such a laudable quarrel. Philip had even sent a squadron of ships and galleys to the assistance of the Venetians. In the course of the year 1717, however, he equipped a strong armament, the command of which he bestowed on the marquis de Lede, who sailed from Barcelona in July, and landing at Cagliari in Sardinia, which belonged to the emperor, made a conquest of the whole island. At the same time the king of Spain endeavoured to justify these proceedings by a manifesto, in which he alledged that the archduke, contrary to the faith of treaties, encouraged and supported the rebellion of his subjects in Catalonia, by frequent succours from Naples and other places; and that the great inquisitor of Spain had been seized, though furnished with a passport from

from his holiness. He promised, however, to proceed no farther, and suspend all operations, that the powers of Europe might have time and opportunity to contrive expedients for reconciling all differences, and securing the peace and balance of power in Italy; nay, he consented that this important affair should be left to the arbitration of king George and the States-general. These powers undertook the office. Conferences were begun between the ministers of the emperor, France, England, and Holland; and these produced, in the course of the following year, the famous quadruple alliance. In this treaty it was stipulated, that the emperor should renounce all pretensions to the crown of Spain, and exchange Sardinia for Sicily, with the duke of Savoy: that the succession to the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, which the queen of Spain claimed by inheritance, as princess of the house of Farnese, should be settled on her eldest son, in case the present possessor should die without male-issue. Philip, dissatisfied with this partition, continued to make formidable preparations by sea and land. These gave rise to the naval armament, which was fitted out in England.

Before we follow the English fleet into the Mediterranean, it will be necessary to attend to what was done in parliament respecting the internal policy of the kingdom.

A great scarcity of silver coin caused many inconveniences to be felt. The cause of this evil was the disproportionate value of gold and silver, which occasioned the first to be imported, and the other to be exported; the remedy for which appeared to consist in lowering the value of gold species. The commons examined a representation which had been made to the treasury by Sir Isaac Newton master of the mint, on this subject. Mr. Caswell explained the nature of a clandestine trade carried on by the Dutch and Hamburgers,

burghers, in concert with the Jews of England and other traders, for exporting the silver coin and importing gold, which being coined at the mint, yielded a profit of fifteen pence upon every guinea. The house, in an address to the king, desired that a proclamation might be issued, forbidding all persons to utter or receive guineas at a higher rate than one and twenty shillings each. His majesty complied with their request; but people hoarding up their silver, in hope that the price of it would be raised, or in apprehension that the gold would be lowered still farther, the two houses resolved that the standard of the gold and silver coins of the kingdom should not be altered in fineness, weight, or denomination; and they ordered a bill to be brought in to prevent the melting down of the silver coin.

Endeavours had been used on the part of king George, to adjust the differences subsisting between the emperor Charles and Philip of Spain; for which purpose colonel Stanhope had been sent to Madrid with a plan of pacification, which being rejected by Philip, at the instance of his prime minister cardinal Alberoni, the king of Great Britain determined to support his mediation by force of arms. Accordingly Sir George Byng sailed from Spithead on the 15th day of June, 1718, with twenty ships of the line, two fire-ships, two bomb-vessels, and ample instructions how to act on all emergencies. He arrived off Cape St. Vincent on the thirtieth day of the month, when he dispatched his secretary to Cadiz with a letter to colonel Stanhope the British minister at Madrid, desiring him to inform his most Catholic majesty of the admiral's arrival in those parts, and lay before him this article of his instructions: "You are to make instances with both parties to cease from using any further acts of hostility: but in case the Spaniards do still insist, with their ships of war and forces, to attack the kingdom of Naples,
or

or other the territories of the emperor in Italy, or to land in any part of Italy, which can only be with a design to invade the emperor's dominions, against whom only they have declared war by invading Sardinia; or if they should endeavour to make themselves masters of the kingdom of Sicily, which must be with a design to invade the kingdom of Naples; in which case you are, with all your power, to hinder and obstruct the same. If it should so happen, that at your arrival, with our fleet under your command, in the Mediterranean, the Spaniards should already have landed any troops in Italy, in order to invade the emperor's territories, you shall endeavour amicably to dissuade them from persevering in such an attempt, and offer them your assistance to help them to withdraw their troops, and put an end to all further acts of hostility. But, in case these your friendly endeavours shall prove ineffectual, you shall, by keeping company with, or intercepting their ships or convoy; or, if it be necessary, by openly opposing them, defend the emperor's territories from any farther attempt."

When cardinal Alberoni perused these instructions, he told colonel Stanhope, with some warmth, that his master would run all hazards, and even suffer himself to be driven out of Spain, rather than recall his troops, or consent to a suspension of arms. He said the Spaniards were not to be frightened; and he was so well convinced that the fleet would do their duty, that in case of their being attacked by admiral Byng, he should be in no pain for the success. Mr. Stanhope presenting him with a list of the British squadron, he threw it upon the ground with great emotion. He promised, however, to lay the admiral's letters before the king, and to let the envoy know his majesty's resolution. Such an interposition could not but be very provoking to the Spanish minister, who had laid his account with

the conquest of Sicily, and for that purpose prepared an armament which was altogether surprising, considering the late shattered condition of the Spanish affairs. He seems to have put too much confidence in the strength of the Spanish fleet. In a few days he sent back the admiral's letter to Mr. Stanhope, with a note under it, importing, that the chevalier Byng might execute the orders he had received from the king his master*.

Mr. Stanhope, seeing things tending to a rupture, gave private and early notice of his apprehensions to the English consuls and merchants settled in the Spanish sea-ports, advising them to secure their effects against the dangers that might arise from a breach between the two crowns.

The admiral pursuing his voyage with unfavourable winds, it was the 8th day of July before he made Cape Spartel, where the Superbe and Rupert, which had been separated from the fleet, rejoined him, and brought advice of the vast preparations which were made by the Spaniards at Barcelona, and of their fleet having sailed from thence the 18th day of June to the eastward. Vice-admiral Cornwall joined the fleet with two ships, the Argyle and Charles galley, as it was passing by Gibraltar. The whole fleet anchored off Cape Malaga, to take in water, and then proceeded to Minorca. The admiral having relieved the garrison at Portmahon, sailed for the bay of Naples, where he arrived on the first day of August, and was received as a deliverer; and indeed, nothing but this seasonable appearance of a powerful fleet could have preserved that kingdom to the house of Austria. Sicily the citadel of Messina alone excepted, had already yielded to the marquis de Lede, at the head of thirty thousand Spanish troops; the inhabi-

* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 416. † Smollet's History of England, Vol. X. p. 456.

tants being strongly attached to the sovereignty of Spain. Sir George Byng received the most distinguishing marks of respect, whilst he continued among the Neapolitans *. It was determined to sail immediately to Sicily, in hopes of relieving the Piedmontese garrison, in the citadel of Messina, before they should surrender to the besiegers. For this purpose the admiral took under his convoy, a re-enforcement of two thousand German troops under the command of general Wetzell.

On the 9th day of August, he came in sight of the Faro of Messina, when he immediately dispatched his own captain (Saunders) with a polite message to the marquis de Lede, proposing a cessation of arms in Sicily for two months, that the powers of Europe might have time to concert measures for restoring a lasting peace; and declaring, that should this proposal be rejected, he would, in pursuance of his instructions, use all his force to prevent further attempts to disturb the dominions his master had engaged to defend. The Spanish general answered, that he had no powers to treat, consequently could not agree to an armistice, but should obey his orders, which directed him to reduce Sicily for his master the king of Spain. The Spanish fleet had sailed from the harbour of Messina on the day before the English squadron appeared. Admiral Byng supposed they had retired to Malta, and directed his course towards Messina, in order to encourage and support the garrison in the citadel. But, in doubling the point of

* Count Daun, the Imperial viceroy of Naples, presented Sir George with a sword set with diamonds, and a very rich staff of command; and to the admiral's son, he made a present of a very fine sword. After the conference, the admiral was splendidly entertained at dinner, and then lodged in the palace of the duke de Marselona, which had been magnificently fitted up for his reception. The viceroy likewise sent refreshments to the fleet, consisting of a hundred oxen, three hundred sheep, six hundred pounds of sugar, seventy hogheads of wine, forty hogheads of brandy, and several other things.

Faro, he descried two Spanish scouts, and learned from the people of a felucca from the Calabrian shore, that they had seen from the hills the Spanish fleet lying to in order of battle. The admiral immediately detached the German troops to Reggio, under convoy of two ships of war. Then he stood through the Faro after the Spanish scouts that led him to their main fleet, which before noon he descried in line of battle, amounting to seven and twenty sail large and small, besides two fire ships, four bomb-vessels, and seven gallies. They were commanded in chief by Don Antonio de Castanita, under whom were the four rear-admirals, Chacon, Mari, Guevara, and Cammock. At sight of the English squadron they stood away large, and Byng gave chase all the rest of the day. In the morning, which was the eleventh of August, the rear-admiral de Mari, with six ships of war, the gallies, fire-ships, and bomb-ketches, separated from the main fleet, and stood in for the Sicilian shore. The English admiral detached captain Walton of the Canterbury, with five more ships in pursuit of them; and they were soon engaged. He himself continued to chase their main fleet; and about ten o'clock the battle began. The Orford attacked the Santa Rosa, of 64 guns, and took her. The St. Carlos, of 60 guns, struck next, without much opposition, to the Kent, captain Matthews. The Grafton, captain Haddock, attacked warmly the Prince of Asturias, of 70 guns, formerly called the Cumberland, rear-admiral Chacon; but the Breda and Captain coming up, captain Haddock left that ship, much shattered, for them to take, and stretched a-head after another ship of 60 guns, which had kept firing on his star-board bow, during his engagement with the Prince of Asturias. About one o'clock, the Kent, and soon after the Superbe, captain Master, came up with, and engaged the Spanish admiral, of
seventy-

seventy-four guns, who, with two ships more, fired on them, and made a running fight, till about three; and then the Kent, bearing down upon him, and under his stern, gave him her broadside, and fell to leeward afterwards; the Superbe, putting forward to lay the admiral a-board, fell on his weather-quarter; upon which, the Spanish admiral shifting his helm, the Superbe ranged up under his lee-quarter, on which he struck to her. At the same time the Barfleur, in which was the admiral, being a-stern of the Spanish admiral, within shot, and inclining on his weather-quarter, rear-admiral Guevara, and another sixty gun ship, which were to windward, bore down upon him, and gave him their broadsides, and then clapt upon a wind, standing in for land. The admiral immediately tacked, and stood after them, until it was almost night; but it being little wind, and they haling away out of his reach, he left pursuing them, and stood into the fleet, which he joined two hours after night. The Essex took the Juno, of thirty-six guns; the Montague and Rupert, took the Volante of forty-four guns; and rear-admiral Delaval, in the Dorsetshire, took the Isabella of sixty guns. The action happened off Cape Passaro, at about six leagues distance from the shore. The English received but little damage: the ship that suffered most, was the Grafton, which being a good sailor, her captain engaged several ships of the enemy, always pursuing the headmost, and leaving those ships he had disabled or damaged, to be taken by those that followed him. The admiral lay by some days at sea, to refit the rigging of his ships, and to repair the damages the prizes had sustained; and the 18th received a letter from captain Walton, who had been sent in pursuit of the Spanish ships that escaped. This letter is one of the most laconic epistles extant, whilst the transaction it speaks of was of such importance, that it would have furnished scope for a very

very elaborate description. It is therefore justly considered as a great curiosity; and is as follows:

S I R,

WE have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships and vessels which were upon the coast, the number as per margin.

I am, &c.

Canterbury, Off Syracuse,
Aug. 16, 1718.

G. WALTON,

By the account referred to, it appears, that Walton had taken four Spanish men of war; one of sixty guns, commanded by rear-admiral Mari; one of fifty four, one of forty, and one of twenty four guns, with a bomb vessel, and a ship laden with arms; and burnt four men of war, one of fifty-four guns, two of forty, and one of thirty guns, with a fire-ship and a bomb-vessel*.

The Spaniards in this action appeared distracted in their counsels, and consequently acted in confusion. Their admiral behaved with courage and activity, notwithstanding which, they were all taken but Cammock, who escaped, with three ships of war and three frigates.

* The following letter from the earl of Stanhope, then secretary, to Sir George Byng, plainly proves, it was not the intention of those who sent him, that he should decline fighting. As it tends to explain the great view of this expedition, we have inserted it here.

“ Bayone, September 2, 1778.

“ Being arrived here last night in six days from Madrid, I do, in pursuance of the commands I have from his majesty, take this first opportunity of acquainting you, that nothing has passed at Madrid, which should divert you from pursuing the instructions you have.

“ If the news which I learn at Bayone, that the citadel of Messina is taken, be not true, or if, notwithstanding the Spaniards have that port, their fleet by contrary winds, or any other accident, should not have got into the harbour, and that you have an opportunity of attacking them, I am persuaded you will not let such an occasion slip; and I agree perfectly in opinion with what is recommended to you by Mr. Secretary Cragge, that the first blow you give, should if possible, be decisive.

“ The two great objects which I think we ought to have in view, are, to destroy their fleet if possible, and to preserve such a footing in Sicily, as may enable us to land an army there.”

Line

Line of Battle of the Fleet under the Command of Sir George Byng, when he attacked and fought the Spanish Fleet, under the Command of Vice-Admiral Castaneta, off Cape Passaro, in Sicily, July 31, 1718.

L I N E O F B A T T L E.

The Canterbury to lead with the starboard, and the Rochester with the larboard tacks.

Fire-ships, &c.	Rate.	Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.	Division.
Suffex store-ship Griffin fire-ship	4	Canterbury	Capt. Walton	305	60	Charles Cornwall, vice-admiral of the white.
		Argyle	Norbury	280	50	
	3	Dreadnought	William Haddock	365	60	
		Burford	Charles Vanbrugh	440	70	
	4	Shaewsbury	{ Vice-Adml. Cornwall	540	80	
		Essex	{ Capt. Balchen	440	70	
	4	Rippon	Rouzier	365	60	
			O'Brien			

Fire-

Fire-ships, &c.	Rate.	Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.	Division.
Garland fire-ship	3	Grafton	Capt. Nicholas Haddock	440	70	Sir George Byng, Bart. Admiral.
Looe hospital-ship	4	Superbe	Master	365	60	
Basilisk bomb	3	Lenox	Strickland	440	70	
Bomb's tender	2	Barfleur	{ Admiral Byng	730	90	
	3	Breda	{ Capt. Saunders, Leftock	440	70	George Delaval, Esq; Rear-Admiral of the Bluc.
	4	Rupert	Harris	365	60	
	3	Orford	Field	440	70	
	3	Captain	Falkingham	440	70	
	4	Dunkirk	Hamilton	440	60	George Delaval, Esq; Rear-Admiral of the Bluc.
	3	Royal Oak	Drake	365	70	
			Kempthorne	440	80	
			{ Rear-Adm. DELAVAL	535	70	
Blast bomb		Dorsetshire	{ Capt. Furger	440	60	George Delaval, Esq; Rear-Admiral of the Bluc.
Bomb's tender		Kent	Matthews	365	40	
	4	Montague	Beverley	190	50	
	5	Charles galley	Philip Vanbrugh	280		
	4	Rocheſter	Joſeph Winder			

9010 1440

Dated on board the Barfleur, off Cape Malaga, the 4th of July, 1718, George Byng.

A L B

A List of the Spanish Fleet, under the Command of Don Antonio de Castaneta, when attacked by Sir George Byng, off Cape Passaro, in Sicily, July 31, 1778.

Ships.	Commanders.	Owns.	Men.	Taken, burnt, &c.
Royal St. Philip	Vice-admiral Castaneta	—	74	650
Prince of Asturias	Rear-admiral Chacon	—	70	550
Royal	Rear-admiral marquis de Mari	—	60	400
St. Charles	Prince Chalay	—	60	400
St. Isabella	Don Andres Rezio	—	60	400
St. Rosa	Don Antonio Gonzalis	—	60	400
St. Indore.	Don Man Villeventio	—	46	300
Volante	Don Antonia Escudera	—	44	300
Surprise	Don Man Siday, Knt. of Malta	—	44	250
Juno	Don Pedro Mayana	—	36	250
Tyger	Monfieur Cavaigne	—	26	240
Eagle	Don Lucas Mafnata	—	24	240
A bomb vessel	—	—	10	80
A ship laden with arms	—	—	—	—
Three ships laden with provisions	—	—	—	—

Taken.

Ships.	Commanders.	Guns.	Men.	Taken, burnt, &c.
The Pearl	Don Gabriel Alderete	—	50	300
Hermione	Don Rodrigo de Tares	—	44	300
Esperance	Don Juan Delfino & Balanda	—	46	300
Two ships, two bombs, &c. and one fettee (5)	—	—	—	—
St. Lewis	—	—	—	—
St. Ferdinando	Rear-admiral Guevara	—	60	400
St. John Baptiste	Rear-admiral Chammock	—	60	400
St. Peter	Don Francis Guerrara	—	60	400
Porcupine	Don Antonio Arifega	—	60	400
La Gallera	A Frenchman	—	44	250
Castilla	Don Francis Alvares	—	30	200
Count de Thoulouse	Don Francis Lenio, Knt. of Malta	33	200	Escaped.
Sir Francis Arveres	Don Joseph Goccoca	30	200	
Little Ferdinand	Wacup, a Scotchman	—	22	100
Little St. John	—	—	20	150
Arrow	Don Ign. Valevale	—	20	150
One bomb vessel	Don Juan Papajena	—	18	100
Seven gallees.	—	—	10	80
M. Grimas, commander in chief.				

Had the Spaniards followed the advice of rear-admiral Cammock, who was a native of Ireland, Sir George Byng would not have obtained such an easy victory. That officer proposed that they should remain at anchor in the road of Paradise, with their broadsides to the sea; in which case the English admiral would have found it a very difficult task to attack them: for the coast is so bold, that the largest ships could ride with a cable ashore; whereas farther out the currents are so various and rapid, that the English squadron could not have come to anchor, or lie near them in order of battle: besides, the Spaniards might have been reinforced from the army on shore, which would have raised batteries to annoy the assailants. Before king George had received an account of this engagement from the admiral, he wrote him a letter with his own hand, approving his conduct. When Sir George's eldest son arrived in England, with a circumstantial account of the action, he was graciously received, and sent back with plenipotentiary powers to his father, that he might negotiate with the several princes and States of Italy, as he should see occasion. The son likewise carried the king's royal grant to the officers and seamen, of all the prizes they had taken from the Spaniards. Notwithstanding this victory, the Spanish army carried on the siege of the citadel of Messina with such vigour, that the governor surrendered the place by capitulation on the twenty-ninth day of September.

A treaty was now concluded at Vienna between the emperor and the duke of Savoy. They agreed to form an army for the conquest of Sardinia in behalf of the duke; and in the mean time this prince engaged to evacuate Sicily: but until his troops could be conveyed from that island, he consented that they should co-operate with the Germans against the common enemy. Admiral Byng continued to assist the

Imperialists in Sicily, during the best part of the winter, by scouring the seas of the Spaniards, and keeping the communication open between the German forces and the Calabrian shore, from whence they were supplied with provisions. He acted in this service with equal conduct, resolution, and activity. He conferred with the viceroy of Naples, and the other Imperial generals, about the operations of the ensuing campaign; and count Hamilton was dispatched to Vienna, to lay before the emperor the result of their deliberations; then the admiral set sail for Mahon, where his ships might be refitted, and put in a condition to take the sea in the spring.

This bold step in destroying the Spanish fleet, without any previous declaration of war, astonished all Europe. The court of Spain represented the conduct of Great Britain, as inconsistent with those principles of good faith, for the observance of which she had hitherto been celebrated. The marquis de Monteleone wrote a letter to Mr. Secretary Craggs, in which he remonstrated against this conduct, as a violation of the laws of nations. Cardinal Alberoni, who had before expressed himself to the English ambassador as ready to rest the decision of the contest upon the force of arms, should the two fleets happen to meet, now wrote a letter to the English secretary, charging the administration to which he belonged with having acted a base and unwarrantable part. He said the plea of maintaining the neutrality of Italy, was a weak pretence, since it was notorious, that such neutrality had long been at an end; and that the princes guaranties of the treaty of Utrecht were entirely discharged from their engagements, not only by the scandalous infringements committed by the Austrians in the evacuation of Catalonia and Majorca; but also because the guarantee was no longer binding than
until

until a peace was concluded with France. He taxed the British ministry with having revived and supported this neutrality, not by an amicable mediation, but by open violence, and artfully abusing the confidence and security of the Spaniards. This was the language of disappointed ambition, and, in some essential instances, not only unsupported by facts, but repugnant to them.

The parliament meeting on the eleventh day of November, the king, in his speech, declared that the court of Spain had rejected all his amicable proposals, and broke through their most solemn engagements for the security of the British commerce. To vindicate therefore the faith of his former treaties, as well as to maintain those he had lately made, and to protect and defend the trade of his subjects, which had in every branch been violently and unjustly oppressed, it became necessary for his naval forces to check their progress: that notwithstanding the success of his arms, that court had lately given orders at all the ports of Spain, and of the West-Indies, to fit out privateers against the English. He said he was persuaded, that a British parliament would enable him to resent such treatment: and he assured them, that his good brother, the regent of France, was ready to concur with him in the most vigorous measures. A strong opposition was made in both houses, to the motion for an address of thanks and congratulation, proposed by lord Carteret. Several peers observed, that such an address was, in effect, to approve a sea-fight, which might be attended with very dangerous consequences, and to give the sanction of that august assembly to measures, which, upon examination, might appear either to clash with the law of nations, or former treaties, or to be prejudicial to the trade of Great-Britain: that they ought to proceed with the utmost caution

caution and maturest deliberation, in an affair wherein the honour, as well as the interest of the nation, were so highly concerned. Lord Strafford moved for an address, that Sir George Byng's instructions might be laid before the house. Earl Stanhope replied, that there was no occasion for such an address, since by his majesty's command he had already laid before the house the treaties, of which the late sea-fight was a consequence: particularly the treaty for a defensive alliance between the emperor and his majesty, concluded at Westminster on the twenty-fifth day of May, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifteen; and the treaty of alliance for restoring and settling the public peace, signed at London on the twenty-second day of July. He affirmed, that the court of Spain had violated the treaty of Utrecht, and acted against the public faith, in attacking the emperor's dominions, while he was engaged in a war against the enemies of Christendom; that they had rejected his majesty's friendly offices, and offers for mediating an accommodation. He explained the cause of his own journey to Spain, and his negotiations at Madrid. He added, it was high time to check the growth of the naval power of Spain, in order to protect and secure the trade of the British subjects, which had been violently oppressed by the Spaniards. After a long debate, the motion was carried by a considerable majority. The same subject excited disputes of the same nature in the house of commons, where the lord Hinchinbroke moved, that, in their address of thanks, they should declare their entire satisfaction in those measures which the king had already taken for strengthening the protestant succession, and established a lasting tranquillity in Europe. The members in the opposition urged, that it was unparliamentary and unprecedented, on the first day of the session, to enter upon

upon particulars: that the business in question was of the highest importance, and deserved the most mature deliberation: that, before they approved the measures which had been taken, they ought to examine the reason on which those measures were founded. Mr. Robert Walpole affirmed, that the giving sanction in the manner proposed, to the late measures, could have no other view than that of screening ministers who were conscious of having begun a war against Spain, and now wanted to make it the parliament's war. He observed, that instead of an intire satisfaction, they ought to express their intire dissatisfaction with such conduct as was contrary to the law of nations, and a breach of the most solemn treaties. Mr. Secretary Craggs, in a long speech, explained the nature of the quadruple alliance, and justified all the measures which had been taken. The address, as moved by lord Hinchinbroke, was at length carried, and presented to his majesty. Then the commons proceeded to consider the supply. They voted thirteen thousand five hundred sailors; and twelve thousand four hundred and thirty five men, for the land service. The whole estimate amounted to two millions two hundred and fifty-seven thousand five hundred and eighty-one pounds, nineteen shillings. The money was raised by a land-tax, malt-tax, and lottery *.

The king, on the 17th day of December, sent a message to the commons, importing, that all his endeavours to procure redress for the injuries done to his subjects by the king of Spain, having proved ineffectual, he had found it necessary to declare war against that monarch. When a motion was made for an address, to assure the king they would cheerfully support him in the prosecution of the war, Mr.

* Smollet's History of England, Vol. X. p. 236.

Shippers and some other members said, they did not see the necessity of involving the nation in a war on account of some grievances of which the merchants complained, as these might be amicably redressed. Mr. Stanhope assured the house, that he had presented five and twenty memorials to the ministry of Spain, on that subject, without success. Mr. Methuen accounted for the dilatory proceedings of the Spanish court in commercial affairs, by explaining the great variety of regulations in the several provinces and ports of that kingdom. It was suggested, that the ministry payed very little regard to the trade and interest of the nation: inasmuch as it appeared by the answer from a secretary of state to the letter of the marquis de Montelone, that they would have overlooked the violation of the treaties of commerce, provided Spain had accepted the conditions stipulated in the quadruple alliance: that his majesty the king of Great-Britain did not seek to aggrandize himself by any new acquisition, but was rather inclined to sacrifice something of his own to procure the general quiet and tranquillity of Europe. A member observed, that no body could tell how far that sacrifice would have extended; but certainly it was a very uncommon stretch of condescension. This sacrifice was said to be the cession of Gibraltar and Portmahon, which the regent of France had offered to the king of Spain, provided he would accede to the quadruple alliance. Horatio Walpole observed, that the disposition of Sicily in favour of the emperor was an infraction of the treaty of Utrecht; and his brother exclaimed against the injustice of attacking the Spanish fleet before a declaration of war. Notwithstanding all these arguments and objections, the majority agreed to the address; and such another was carried in the upper house without a division. The declaration of war against Spain was

was published with the usual solemnities; but this war was not a favourite of the people, and therefore did not produce those acclamations that were usual on such occasions*.

Before we close this chapter, it will be necessary to take notice of the reduction of the American buccaneers, in consequence of the measures which had been taken for that purpose. Captain Woodes Rogers, who had made a successful voyage round the world in a Bristol privateer, and with another under his command, as we have already related, was now appointed governor of the Bahama Islands. When he arrived at Providence, which was appointed to be the seat of his government, he was cordially received by the people, and many pirates, who harboured there, voluntarily submitted. He then proceeded to form a council, and establish a regular system of civil government, which at length brought these rovers to subjection. Two of these vessels being taken, after the time of surrender limited in the proclamation expired, and the captains and their crews being hanged, these nests of cruel villains and lawless freebooters were destroyed totally, after having for many years spread terror through the West-Indies, and even the northern colonies. The cruelties they exercised on those who were so unhappy as to fall into their hands, exceeded even those committed by the African corsairs, and rendered slavery among the Turks, preferable to their yoke.

* Smollet's History of England Vol. X. p. 241.



The state of commerce carried on with the northern kingdoms, may be estimated, by the following account of the imports and exports.

Imported into Great Britain in the year 1716.

From Denmark and Norway, in masts, timber, pitch and tar, hemp, &c.	} £. 73,896
From the East Country, (or Prussia and Livonia) in masts and hemp, linen, &c.	} 103,639
From Sweden, chiefly in iron, pitch and tar, masts, &c.	} 136,959
From Russia, chiefly in hemp, pitch and tar, masts, &c.	} 197,270
Total imported	511,760
Exported from Great Britain.	
To Denmark and Norway	60,317
To the East Country	65,293
To Sweden	24,101
To Russia	113,154
Total exported	262,865
Total balance, or loss to Great Britain	248,895 *

In the year 1717, the interest paid on the public debts, was reduced from six to five per cent. in order gradually to lessen the national debts. For this purpose, the government treated with the Bank and South Sea Companies, to whom a great part of the national debts was due, and brought them to agree,

* Boyer's Political State of Great Britain.

not

not only for this reduction of the interest on their own respective capitals, but that the Bank should advance or lend to the public, when wanted, two millions five hundred thousand pounds, and the South-Sea Company the sum of two millions, at five per cent. interest; to be in readiness for paying off such of the proprietors of certain redeemable annuities, as should demand their principal money to be paid them, instead of accepting of five per cent. in lieu of their present interest. Three acts of parliament passed the third year of king George, for this purpose*.

This plan succeeded to admiration; for all the proprietors of those redeemable debts acquiesced in the reduction of their interest, so that government had no occasion to borrow any part of the sums ready to be advanced by the two companies. The most incontestable proof of the wealth of the kingdom, which had so far reduced what is usually called the natural interest of money, or that rate of interest at which money might now be borrowed on good private security.

These savings to the public, first laid the foundation for the sinking fund, and which then amounted to three hundred and twenty-three thousand four hundred and thirty-four pounds seven shillings and seven-pence, per annum. This fund, formed on the best principle of public utility, was composed entirely of the surpluses or savings out of those funds, by the several reductions now and afterwards made, in the rates of interest and allowances to the companies for transacting the business of government. These regulations did not lower the prices of the different stocks at market, for at Michaelmas 1717, they considerably rose in their price; South-Sea stock, which at Lady-day was at one hundred

* Cap. 7, 8, and 9.

three fourths per cent. was at Michaelmas one hundred and eleven and a half per cent*.

In the year 1717, the South-Sea Company's first annual ship, the *Royal Prince*, was laden, and sailed for la Vera Cruz; and on March 1718, the South-Sea Company's second great annual ship was launched, and named the *Royal George*, in honour of the king, who was governor of the company. But the war with Spain put an effectual stop to that company's commerce to the Spanish West-Indies, where their effects, factors and servants, were seized and detained, by which they were supposed to have lost upwards of two hundred thousand pounds. And although the company's agent at Madrid, represented these causes of complaint in very strong terms to cardinal Alberoni, who promised, that the company should be indemnified whenever peace should be restored, yet these losses were never effectually made good. And indeed, many heavy complaints were made of the oppressions practised by the Spanish governors, in direct violation of the *asiento* treaty. The cargo of one of their ships which arrived at Carthagena, was confiscated, on the pretext of over-tonnage, although it afterwards appeared on re-measurement, that its cargo was below the stipulated tonnage. Indeed, when this was ascertained, the company recovered their property, but they were obliged to make their appeal in Europe, which caused heavy expences, and when the matter was decided the market was lost. Another of their ships, called the *Elizabeth*, which arrived at Vera Cruz, had a very heavy duty laid on it there, although, according to the treaty, it was subject to no duty whatsoever.

About this time pig and bar iron began first to be made in the province of Virginia, and of a very

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. II. p. 273.

good

good staple or kind; which has since been much improved.

From August 1715 to August 1716, the coinage at the Tower amounted to one million five hundred and forty-two thousand one hundred and fifty-five pounds in gold, and only seven thousand pounds in silver. It was reckoned that near two thirds of that gold was from French Louis d'ors melted down*.

* Boyer's Political Saic.



C H A P. II.

From the Declaration of War against SPAIN, to the Death of King GEORGE the First.

Sir George Byng sails for Mahon—Expedition against Vigo—Sir John Norris sent into the Baltic—Effects of the South-Sea Scheme—Alterations in the Admiralty-Board—Sir Charles Wager sent against the Portuguese—The Difference adjusted—Conduct of Captain Ogle in suppressing the American Pirates—A Squadron sent into the Baltic—Admiral Hofier in the West-Indies—Siege of Gibraltar by the Spaniards—Sir Charles Wager sent to its Relief.

SOON after the declaration of war against Spain, the earl of Stair, who still continued to reside at Paris, as the English minister, transmitted to his court intelligence of the designs, which cardinal Alberoni, assisted by the duke of Ormond, had formed against England. This was no other than an attempt to set the Chevalier de St. George on the throne. Administration was not inactive upon the receipt of this important advice. A fleet was immediately ordered to be got ready, and five thousand pound reward was offered by proclamation to any one who should apprehend James Butler, late duke of Ormond. On the 5th day of April, 1719, Sir John Norris sailed from Spithead, with nine men of war, directing his course to the westward; and he was soon after

after reinforced by a squadron under the earl of Berkley. Troops were likewise stationed in the most convenient places for the defence of the kingdom, should it be attacked; and large bodies of foreign forces came over from Holland and Switzerland. These judicious precautions were however rendered unnecessary, for soon after the Spanish armament had sailed from Cadiz, as if a fatality hung over all attempts which that kingdom should make to annoy England, a furious tempest overtook them, on the 28th day of February, when they were about fifty leagues to the westward of Cape Finisterre, which continued forty-eight hours, and entirely dispersed the whole fleet, consisting of five men of war and forty transports. The duke of Ormond was on board with five thousand land forces; besides which, were embarked a great quantity of ammunition, spare arms, and one million pieces of eight. Such ships as returned to the ports of Spain, were in a very shattered condition; the number that were lost was never known; but a small part of this force, being three frigates and five transports reached Scotland, and landed the earls of Marshall and Seaford, and the marquis of Tullibadine, with about four hundred men, chiefly Spaniards, in the shire of Ross; where they were joined by the disaffected Scots, who presently amounted to about one thousand five hundred men. Ormond, however, who was to have headed these insurgents, did not arrive. Major general Wightman, defeated them at Glenshill; after which the Spaniards, amounting to about three hundred, surrendered at discretion, while the three noblemen, just named, escaped to the Western Isles, from whence they soon after found means to return to the continent. Before this entire dispersion, they had met with a check at Donan castle, which was taken by his majesty's ships, the Worcester, Enterprize, and

and Flamborough; the castle being blown up, and the greatest part of their ammunition taken or destroyed*.

The regent of France, who was strongly attached to the interest of the king of Great Britain, declared war against his cousin the king of Spain. Many of the first nobility of France were much offended at this step, and when it was determined to send an army into Spain, marshal Villars refused to act against a grandson of his former master. The duke of Berwick, now invested with a marshal's staff, was not so scrupulous; and though he had been the chief means of placing Philip upon his throne, by the decisive victory which he gained at Almanza, yet he accepted the command of an army which was appointed to invade his territories, in order to compel him to accede to such conditions, as were thought requisite to establish the general tranquillity of Europe.

In the month of April, a detachment, commanded by the marquis d'Cilly, penetrated to Port Passage, where were six Spanish men of war upon the stocks, almost finished; these he burnt, together with timber, masts and naval stores, to the value of half a million sterling; and shortly after, Berwick laid siege to Fontarabia, which he made himself master of.

Meanwhile Sir George Byng, who had wintered in the Mediterranean; early in the spring, proceeded from Port Mahon to Naples, where he concerted measures for the reduction of Sicily. As soon as the Imperial army destined for that expedition was ready, he received it on board his fleet, and landed the troops on the island. His ships, by supplying the army with necessaries, and attentively watching the motions of the enemy, greatly accelerated its reduction. On the eighth day of August the

* Historical Register.

city of Messina surrendered to the Imperialists. The admiral then landed a body of English grenadiers, who very quickly made themselves masters of the Tower of Faro, and thereby gained a free passage for the fleet to come within reach of some Spanish men of war, that lay in the mole, protected by the guns of the citadel. As the surrender of this fortress was soon expected, the different commanders who carried on the attack, began to anticipate the possession of the Spanish men of war, all of which must then be taken. Signior Scampi, general of the king of Sardinia's gallies, laid claim to two of them, one of sixty, the other sixty-four guns. He founded his pretensions on their having originally belonged to the king, his master; for the Spaniards had seized them in the port of Palermo. Count de Mercy, who commanded for the emperor, insisted, that when the fort should be taken, that and the port would belong to the emperor, and therefore, according to the established laws of nations, the ships became his. Our English admiral supported his pretensions to these prizes by asserting, that the taking them was entirely owing to the ships he constantly stationed to watch their motions, and if he drew his cruisers off, the Spanish ships would even then be able to leave the port and get to sea, where he should have a chance of meeting with and taking them. Such were the pleas urged by the three commanders, which however, was adjusted without any disagreeable consequences arising; for Sir George Byng reflecting that possibly the garrison might capitulate for the safe return of those ships into Spain, which he was determined never to suffer: that, on the other hand, the right of possession might breed an inconvenient dispute among the princes concerned; and, if it should prove that they did not belong to England, it were better they belonged to nobody;

he proposed to Count de Mercy, to erect a battery, and destroy them as they lay in the basin; who urged, that he had no orders concerning those ships, and must write to Vienna for instructions about it. The admiral replied, with some warmth, that he could not want a power to destroy every thing that belonged to the enemy, and insisted on it with so much firmness, that the general being concerned in interest, not to carry matters to a disagreement, caused a battery to be erected, notwithstanding the protestations of Scrampi; which, in a little time, sunk and destroyed them; and completed the ruin of the naval power of Spain*.

Still however the citadel of Messina held out, the besiegers being in want both of artillery and ammunition. To supply these, the admiral sent ashore the cannon which were on board the English prizes, and procured upon his own credit, powder, and other ammunition from Genoa. No sooner were the allies put into possession of the citadel by these means, than Sir George Byng transported a large body of troops to Tropani, another part of the island, by which the Spaniards were so much annoyed, that the marquis de Lede, their general, proposed to evacuate the island. Byng rejected these conditions, which the other commanders were disposed to grant. He insisted that the Spanish troops should not be permitted to quit Sicily and return to Spain, till a general peace was concluded, or until they had engaged to serve no more, during the continuance of the war. Hostilities were therefore continued until the admiral received advice from the earl of Stair, at Paris, that the Spanish ambassador at the Hague, had signed the quadruple alliance. Commissioners were sometime after appointed on both sides, and a convention

* Historical Register, Political State, Oldmixon's History, &c.

was

was signed: by it, the Germans were put into possession of Palermo; and the Spanish army marched to Termini, from whence they were transported to Barcelona.

On the 10th day of October, the Sheerness, commanded by captain Delgarno, chased and took a Spanish packet boat between Lagos and Cape St. Mary, named the St. Francis, of eighteen guns, six patereroes, one hundred and twenty-five men, and thirty passengers, bound to Cadiz from St. Domingo. About the same time, captain Saunders in the Dreadnought was sent by the admiral against the Maltese, who had not only assisted the Spaniards, but had taken many English merchantmen. The captain was directed to demand satisfaction for the injuries and insults which had been committed. After some conferences had been held with the deputies, which arrived on board the ship from the grand master and council of Malta, full reparation was obtained for all the damages done by their subjects, to those of Great Britain.

Sir George Byng having seen the convention for the evacuation of Sicily and Sardinia duly executed; and having ordered his whole Squadron to return to England, four ships only excepted, set out himself from Genoa by land, and arrived at Hanover on the 21st day of August, 1720. His majesty who was there at that time received him very graciously, telling him, he had found out the secret of obliging his enemies, as well as his friends; for the court of Spain had mentioned him in the most honourable terms, with respect to his candid, and friendly deportment, in providing transports and other necessities for the embarkation of the troops, and in protecting them from oppression. He was appointed treasurer of the navy, and rear-admiral of Great Britain. In a little time the king ennobled him by the title of viscount Torrington; he was declared a privy

counsellor, and afterwards made a knight of the Bath, at the revival of that order.

Whilst these transactions passed in the Mediterranean, the English ministry, in order to retaliate the invasion of England, which had been projected by Spain, determined to make a descent on the Spanish coast; and Corunna, or the Groyne, was the place destined to be attacked. Four thousand men, commanded by lord Cobham, were embarked at the Isle of Wight, and sailed on the 21st day of September, under convoy of five men of war, commanded by vice-admiral Mighels. They arrived on the coast of Galicia, where they cruised three days, expecting to be joined by two more ships of war, under captain Johnson: but he not appearing, and the transports being particularly exposed to danger by lying on the coast, at that season of the year, the commanders having a favourable wind to carry them to Vigo, determined to bend their course thither, instead of to Corunna.

On the 10th day of October, N. S. they entered that harbour; and the grenadiers being immediately landed about three miles from the town, drew up on the beach: some peasants fired from the mountains, at a great distance, but without any effect. Lord Cobham went a-shore with the grenadiers, and the regiments followed as fast as the boats could land them. That night, and the following day and night, the troops lay upon their arms. In the mean while, provisions for four days were brought a-shore; and guards were posted in several avenues, to the distance of above a mile up the country.

Two days after, his lordship moved with the forces nearer the town, and encamped at a strong post, with the left to the sea, near the village of Boas, and the right extending towards the mountains. This motion of the army, and some parties that were ordered to view the town and citadel, gave the enemy some

some apprehensions that preparations were making to attack them. Whereupon, they set fire to the carriages of the cannon of the town, spiked the guns, and by all their motions, seemed to indicate their intention of abandoning the town to the care of the magistrates, and inhabitants; and to retire with the regular troops, into the citadel. Lord Cobham then sent to summon the town to surrender, which the magistrates agreed to; and the same night his lordship ordered brigadier Honywood, with eight hundred men, to take post in the town, and fort St. Sebastian, which the enemy had also abandoned.

On the 14th, a bomb-vessel began to bombard the citadel; but with little execution, on account of the great distance. That evening, the large mortars, and the cohorn-mortars, were landed at the town; between forty and fifty of them, great and small, placed on a battery, under cover of fort St. Sebastian, began in the night to play upon the citadel, and continued it four days with great success. On the fourth day his lordship ordered the battering cannon to be landed; and, with some others, found in the town, to be placed on the battery of Fort St. Sebastian. At the same time, his lordship summoned the governor to surrender, acquainting him that if he held out till the battery of cannon was ready, no quarter should be given. Colonel Ligonier was sent with this message, but found the governor Don Joseph de los Cereos, had the day before been carried out of the castle, wounded; the lieutenant colonel, who commanded in his absence, desired that hostilities might cease, whilst he sent to the marquis de Risburg, at Tux; for his directions; but this being refused, the citadel surrendered without any farther delay, and obtained an honourable capitulation*.

* This relation was published in the London Gazette, dated Whitehall, October 2, 1779.

The number of men that marched out of the garrison was four hundred and sixty-nine, officers included, three hundred had been killed or wounded during the siege, whilst, on the side of the English, only two officers and four private men were killed. In the town, were sixty pieces of large iron cannon, which the Spaniards had spiked and damaged, as much as their time would give them leave; and in the citadel were forty-three pieces, of which fifteen were brass, and two large mortars; besides above two thousand barrels of powder, and several chests of arms, amounting to about eight thousand musquets: all these stores, and brass ordnance, were lodged there from on board the ships that were to have visited Great Britain the preceding spring; and the very troops that gave up Vigo, were also of that expedition. Seven ships were seized in the harbour; three of which were fitting up for privateers, one to carry twenty-four guns; the rest were trading vessels.

Vigo being thus taken, the lord Cobham ordered major-general Wade to embark with a thousand men on board four transports, and to sail to the upper end of the bay of Vigo; which he accordingly did, on the 25th, N. S. and having landed his men, marched to Pont-a-Vedra, which place surrendered without opposition, the magistrates of the town meeting them with the keys. In the place were taken, two forty-eight pounders, four twenty-four pounders, six eight pounders, and four mortars, all brass; besides seventy pieces of iron cannon, two thousand small-arms, some bombs, &c. all which, except the twenty-four pounders, were embarked, and major-general Wade returned with his booty and troops to Vigo, on the 4th day of November. And the next day, the lord Cobham finding it would be impossible for him to maintain his ground any longer in Spain, ordered the forces to be embarked, as likewise the cannon,

cannon, &c. which being done by the 17th, he sailed that day for England, where he arrived the 22d day of November; having lost in the expedition, about three hundred of his men, who were either killed, died, or deserted*.

In the mean time, captain Johnson with his two ships, not having been able to join admiral Mighels, proceeded to the port of Ribadeo, to the eastward of Cape Ortigas, where he destroyed two Spanish ships, so that the naval power of Spain was totally ruined. An expedition against Peru, in South America, had likewise been projected, but the earnestness with which the court of Madrid sought a peace, caused this remote attack to be laid aside.

Let us now turn to the affairs of the north, where the system of politics had undergone a thorough change, after the death of Charles king of Sweden. Ulrica, the new queen, concluded a peace with king George early in the summer, by which the duchies of Bremen and Verden with all their dependencies, were yielded to the electoral house of Brunswick, for which investiture the king agreed to pay a million of rix-dollars. The czar Peter, however, refused to conclude a peace with Sweden, being determined to attempt farther conquests. In the beginning of September, Sir John Norris was sent with a squadron into the Baltic, with orders to join the Swedish fleet. He arrived at Dahlen near Stockholm, on the 6th day of the same month. This junction of the English and Swedish fleets, broke all the measures of the Russian emperor. His fleet had landed fifteen thousand troops at the Scheuron or Batses of Sweden, where they committed savage outrages, but when Sir John Norris arrived in those parts, the czar, dreading the fate of the Spanish navy, re-embarked his

* Historical Register.

forces,

forces, and secured his fleet in the harbour of Revel. The conduct of Sir John Norris in this expedition was highly meritorious; by his prudence and activity, the most essential services were rendered his country, and the balance of power in the north was preserved without a blow being struck. This admiral returned with his fleet to England, about the latter end of November.

Soon after the king's return to England, the parliament assembled. The house of commons was far from being unanimous in their opinion concerning the measures adopted by the ministry, but a decisive majority appeared in their favour. On the 2d day of December, thirteen thousand five hundred seamen were voted for the service of the navy, during the year 1720. Two hundred and seventeen thousand nine hundred and eighteen pounds ten shillings and eight-pence was given for the ordinary of the navy, and seventy-nine thousand seven hundred and twenty-three pounds for the extraordinary repairs. Soon after, a demand was made for a considerable sum expended in the necessary service of the last year, beyond what was provided in parliament, and after great debates, a vote was obtained on the 15th day of January, 1720, for three hundred and seventy-seven thousand five hundred and sixty-one pounds, in discharge of those expences. The parliament then turned to an object of the greatest importance; namely, that of securing the dependency of the Irish parliament upon that of Great Britain. Maurice Annesley had appealed to the house of peers in England, from a decree of the house of peers in Ireland; which was reversed. The British peers ordered the barons of the exchequer in Ireland, to put Mr. Annesley in possession of the lands he had lost by the decree in that kingdom. The barons obeyed this order, and the Irish house of peers passed a vote against them,

as

as having attempted to diminish the just privileges of the parliament of Ireland; and, at the same time, ordered the barons to be taken under the custody of the black rod. On the other hand, the house of lords in England resolved, that the barons of the exchequer in Ireland had acted with courage and fidelity; and addressed the king to signify his approbation of their conduct, by some marks of his favour. To complete their intention, a bill was prepared, by which the Irish house of lords was deprived of all rights of final jurisdiction. This was opposed in both houses. In the lower house some members asserted, that it would only increase the power of the English peers, who already had too much. Mr. Hungerford demonstrated that the Irish lords had always exerted their power of finally deciding causes. The duke of Leeds produced fifteen reasons against the bill; but notwithstanding all opposition, it was carried by a great majority, and received the royal assent. The kingdom of Ireland was not, at that time, so well acquainted with the nature of liberty, and its own constitution, as it is at present. Their house of lords might then consist mostly of men bred up in luxury and ignorance; neither spirited enough to make opposition, nor skilful enough to conduct it*.

In the beginning of the month of February, the king of Spain acceded to the quadruple alliance. Philip attacked on all sides, and his kingdom exhausted, now saw the mischiefs resulting from the ambitious schemes which Alberoni had caused him to adopt. That churchmen and minister was so obnoxious to the emperor, the king of England, and the regent of France, that when overtures towards a peace were made by Spain, the confederates refused to treat whilst the cardinal remained in office. His Catholic majesty, therefore, was compelled to deprive him of all his employments, and farther to gratify

* Goldsmith.

the allies, ordered him to quit the kingdom in three weeks.

About this time, one captain Barlow was sent out by certain private adventurers, to discover a north-west passage to China, through Hudson's Bay, which proved a most unfortunate attempt, for neither he nor any of his company were ever heard of; yet a part of the wreck of his ship was said to be found in that bay, in the latitude of sixty-three degrees north *.

It was computed, that from the year 1711 to 1719, both years included, there had been exported from England to the East-Indies, in foreign silver ballion, the sum of three millions seven hundred and eighty-six thousand and five pounds; which, on a medium, is, one year with another, four hundred and twenty thousand six hundred and sixty-seven pounds annually †.

In the 5th year of king George I. a patent was granted to Sir Thomas Lambe, for the sole and exclusive property for fourteen years, of a wonderful machine for silk throwing, which had been some time before erected by his brother, on the river Derwent, at Derby, by mills which work three capital engines. This amazingly grand machine, contains twenty-six thousand five hundred and eighty-six wheels, and ninety-seven thousand seven hundred and forty-six movements, which work seventy-three thousand seven hundred and twenty-six yards of organize silk thread every time the water mill goes round, being thrice in one minute, and three hundred and eighteen millions five hundred and four thousand nine hundred and sixty yards in one day and night. One water wheel gives motion to all the movements, of which any one may be stopped separately, without obstructing the

* Ellis's voyage to Hudson's Bay, page 78.
Commerce, Vol. II. p. 224.

† Anderson on
rest.

rest. One fire engine conveys warm air to every individual part of this vast machine, containing in all its buildings, half a quarter of a mile in length. The model of it is said to have been taken by Mr. Lambe, from the original in Piedmont, under the disguise of a common workman; he having secretly drawn its plan on paper, and then made his escape to England. These engines have saved vast sums to the nation, which were formerly paid for organize or thrown silk, to the Piedmontese, altogether in ready money. When the term of this patent expired, the patentee applied to parliament, stating, that he had not derived sufficient advantage therefrom, and offering to disclose the secret of the construction for a reasonable sum of money. By an act of the fifth George II.* 14,000 l. was granted to him from the public, as a consideration for the eminent services he had done the nation, in discovering, introducing, and bringing to full perfection, at his own great expence, a work so useful and beneficial to the kingdom. This act provides, that his majesty shall direct proper persons to view the engines, and to take an exact model thereof; to be deposited in such place as he shall appoint, to secure and perpetuate the art for the advantage of the nation.

The king in his speech, having recommended to the commons the consideration of proper means for lessening the national debt, this served as a prelude to the famous South-Sea act, which became productive of so much mischief and infatuation through that spirit of avarice and chicanery, which had infested almost all ranks of people. The preceding year, John Law, a Scotchman, had found means to engage the French ministry, to patronize a scheme for erecting a company in France, under the name of the

* Cap. 8.

Mississippi Company; which at first promised the deluded people immense wealth, but too soon appeared an imposture, and left a great part of that nation in ruin and distress. The people of England were now deceived by just such another project, which is remembered by all, under the name of the South-Sea scheme, and to this day felt by thousands. The rise of this company has been already traced, and the stipulations respecting its commerce, when the peace of Utrecht took place, have been spoken of; we are now to view it in its inflated state, when the nation became duped by the imaginary consequence of this commercial body, and fell a prey to the designs of a junto of knaves.

Sir John Blount, who had been bred a scrivener, and was possessed of all the cunning and plausibility requisite for such an undertaking, proposed to the ministry, in the name of the South-Sea Company, to lessen the national debt, by permitting that company to buy up all the debts of the different companies, and thus to become the sole creditor of the state. The terms offered the government were extremely advantageous. The South-Sea Company was to redeem the debts of the nation out of the hands of the private proprietors, who were creditors to the government, upon whatever terms they could agree; and, for the interest of this money, which they had thus redeemed, and taken into their own hands, they would be contented to be allowed for six years five per cent. and then the interest should be reduced to four per cent. and be redeemable by parliament. For these purposes a bill passed both houses; and as the directors of the South-Sea Company could not of themselves alone be supposed to be possessed of money sufficient to buy up these debts of the government, they were empowered to raise it by opening a subscription, and granting annuities to such proprietors as should

should think proper to exchange their creditors; namely, the crown for the South-Sea Company, with the advantages that might be made by their commerce. The superior benefits with which these proprietors were flattered, by thus exchanging their property in the government funds for South-Sea Company stock, were a chimerical prospect of having their money turned to great profit, by a commerce to the southern parts of America, where it was reported, that the English were to have some new settlements granted them by the king of Spain. The directors books therefore were no sooner opened for the first subscription, but crowds came to make the exchange; the delusion spread; subscriptions in a few days fold for double the price they had been bought at. The scheme succeeded, and the whole nation was infected with a spirit of avaritious enterprize. The stock increased to a surprising degree; the fame and credit of the leading directors and managers rose in proportion. Addresses were made to them from persons of high rank, and in testimony of ministerial approbation, several of the directors had the hereditary honour of baronet conferred on them. Yet very soon after, such sudden fluctuations in their stock happened, sometimes even in the space of a few hours, as might have given clear indications of its precarious value, notwithstanding the various arts daily practised to keep it constantly rising. For though on the 2d day of June 1720, it got up to eight hundred and ninety per cent, yet that vast price bringing many sellers to 'Change Alley, the day following it fell to six hundred and forty, and yet the same evening rose again to seven hundred and seventy. On the 6th it was at eight hundred and twenty, but by the 14th fell to seven hundred and ten. Many were obliged to sell out their stock, to enable them to make their second payment

payment on the subscription; and some began to have their eyes opened by the judicious calculations of Archibald Hutchinson, Esq; and others. These alarming circumstances obliged the managers to lend great sums of money on South-Sea stock, at four hundred per cent. which loan answered a double purpose, by preventing the stock which was thus pawned being brought to market, and plied the borrowers with the means of buying more. So that though the price of the stock was somewhat under eight hundred per cent. the junto ventured so far out of their depth, as to take a third money subscription for the purchase of stock, at one thousand per cent. in ten different payments of one hundred pounds each, for five millions of stock. In a few days, the first payment of one hundred pounds rose to four hundred pounds, making the price of the stock one thousand three hundred pounds. A few days after the Midsummer shutting of the books, the price of South-Sea stock for the opening of them, was at one thousand per cent. and upward, including the ten per cent. Midsummer dividend.

Whilst South-Sea stock was at its meridian height, the stocks of the other two great companies rose gradually above their real value. East-India stock was up to four hundred and forty-five per cent. and bank stock to two hundred and sixty. This rise was partly occasioned by the sellers out of South-Sea stock, and also out of the bubbles, as they were justly termed, or numerous inferior stocks at very high prizes, who thought their money safer in being invested in these stocks than elsewhere. About Midsummer 1720, the advanced prices of all the stocks greater or less, of every kind, were computed to amount to about five hundred million of pounds sterling, or above five times as much as the current cash of all Europe: and if the yearly rents of lands and houses in Great
Britain

Britain at that time, be supposed not to exceed fourteen millions, and that the full value thereof, houses and lands taken together, did not then exceed sixteen years purchase on an average, or two hundred and twenty-four millions of money, then the current price of all the transferrable funds was above double the amount of the fee simple of all the immoveable property of the nation*.

On the 18th day of August, the directors of the South-Sea Company, obtained from government a *scire facias* against those airy projects, called bubbles, which at this time were become very numerous, and had greatly advanced in their prices, even after an act of parliament had passed this session for suppressing them †, and a royal proclamation had likewise been issued to enforce the laws against them. But these restraints had not been effectual to repress the rage for adventurous enterprizes, excited by the hope of becoming rich, by more speedy means than persevering industry pointed out. Change Alley; therefore, was crowded from morning to night, with dealers in those bubbles. Some of these were founded on obsolete and forfeited charters, upon the credit of which, large money subscriptions were opened for carrying on what the parties were not authorized to do. Others grafted new and additional projects on their obsolete charters, which had been originally granted for very different purposes. A third species of bubbles, and which indeed were the most numerous, did not even pretend to charters of any kind. Not a day passed without fresh projects recommended by pompous advertisements in all the news papers. On some of these six-pence per cent. was paid down; on others one shilling per cent. and some descended so low as one shilling per thousand, at the time of

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. II. p. 288.

† Cap. 17.

subscribing,

subscribing. Some of the obscure keepers of those books of subscription, contenting themselves with what they had procured in the forenoon by the subscriptions of one or two millions, disappeared in the afternoon of the same day. On some schemes, that had persons of credit to usher them into the alley, ten shillings deposit was paid; some were divided into shares, instead of hundreds and thousands; upon each of which a certain sum must be paid, and both for them and the other kinds, printed receipts were given, signed by persons utterly unknown. This universal phrenzy was at its height when the dog-star raged; persons of quality of both sexes, were deeply engaged in these bubbles, avarice prevailing at this time over every consideration, either of dignity or honour. Noblemen resorted to taverns and coffee-houses to meet their brokers, and women of quality to the shops of milliners and haberdashers for the same purpose. Any impudent impostor, whilst the delusion was at its greatest height, needed only to hire a room at some coffee-house, or other house near Exchange Alley, for a few hours, and open a subscription book, for something relating to commerce, manufacture, plantation, or some supposed invention, having advertised it in the news papers the preceding day, and subscribers for one or two millions of imaginary stock would presently flock in. Many of the subscribers themselves were far from believing those projects feasible; it was enough for their purpose that there would very soon be a premium on the receipts for those subscriptions, when they generally got rid of them in the crowded alley, to others more credulous than themselves. And in all events the projector was sure of his deposit money. So great was the wild confusion among the crowd in 'Change Alley, that the same project or bubble has been known to be sold at the same instant of time,

ten

ten per cent. higher at one end of the Alley than at the other. Posterity will hardly credit the impositions, which were successfully practised on the credulity of mankind. An advertisement appeared, "for subscribing two millions to a certain promising or profitable design, which will hereafter be promulgated." Square bits of playing cards, called, "Globe permits," were currently sold for sixty guineas and upwards, they had the impression of a seal on wax, being sign of the Globe Tavern, in the neighbourhood of Change Alley, with the inscription of sail-cloth permits, but no name signed thereon. The possessors of these were in some future time to be permitted to subscribe to a new-sail cloth manufacture, projected by one who was then known to be a man of fortune, though afterwards involved in great calamities and disgrace * †.

The managers of the South-Sea Company, imagining that the traffic in these bubbles obstructed the rise of their stock. The *scire facias* which they procured to suppress them, like the touch of Ithuriel's spear, instantly reduced them all to their proper size and value.

No sooner was this absolute prohibition published in the London Gazette, than a general panic seized the conductors of all the undertakings and projects. The calamities brought on multitudes by this instantaneous discovery of the illusion, under the force of which they had sported away their property, though grievous in themselves and widely spread, were only preludes to the catastrophe which soon followed, by the fall of South-Sea stock and subscriptions. From

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. II. p. 291.

† To ridicule the infatuation that prevailed, the following advertisement appeared. "On Tuesday next books will be opened to receive a subscription of two millions, for the invention of melting down saw-dust and chips, and casting them into clean boards, without cracks or knots."

the issuing of the *scire facias*, it gradually declined in price, though with many great fluctuations, occasioned by the many arts practised to keep it up. The court of directors now saw their mistake but too late, in suppressing the bubbles. On the 30th day of September, South-Sea stock had fallen to one hundred and seventy per cent. and their bonds were at twenty-five per cent. discount. Towards the close of the year, the consequences of this fatal imposition became openly apparent. Many families of rank and quality, sustained irreparable losses. Merchants of the first consequence became bankrupts, mutual confidence was destroyed. Many who had inherited ample fortunes, and were accustomed to live in splendour, were now reduced to the most abject want. Many unable to support this reverse of fortune, retired to remote parts of the world to devour their melancholy in silent obscurity, whilst those who had suddenly amassed wealth by successful dealings in the Alley, by their profuse luxuries and unrestrained licentiousness, caused an evil spirit to go forth and prevail in the nation, to corrupt and poison those principles, which are the best security for its safety and prosperity.

As the commercial interests of the kingdom are so intimately connected with the events of which we have treated in this unparalleled year; for the satisfaction of our readers, we have arranged the several stocks, subscriptions, projects, and bubbles, which subsisted at that time, with the highest prices they at any time bore in 'Change Alley.

GREAT

Original Money paid in or due.		Highest Prices sold for in 1720.	
£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
100	—	1000	—
120	—	750	—
80	—	600	—
100	—	440	—
200	—	245	—
100	—	445	—
96	13 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	260	—
23	—	200	—
100	—	440	—
10	—	305	—

GREAT CORPORATIONS.

I. South-Sea stock

Ditto 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ money subscriptions, at 300 per cent.

2d ditto, at 400 per cent.

3d ditto, at 1000 per cent.

4th ditto, at 1000 per cent.

East-India capital stock { 3,200,000l. }

Bank of England (capital then 5,550,000l. 14s. 8d.)

This was the Bank's nominal or transferable capital: yet the government actually owed them no more than 5,375,027l. 17s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. (till the year 1722, when they purchased four millions of the South-Sea Company) whereby 100l. Bank stock, as due from the public, was now really no more than 96l. 13s. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. So that all its advanced value must and did arise from the different profits of banking! Royal African stock { old capital 400,000l. additional one } 1,600,000l. }

DOUBTFUL CHARTERS.

II. Million-Bank, (500,000l.)

York-Buildings Company, (1,200,000l.)

Original Money paid in or due.	Highest Prices fold for in 1720.
£. 5½	per share 120
5	per share 105
4½	per cent. 95
10	per cent. 25

Luffing Company, (10,000 shares) valued at 1,200,000l. }
[not worth one farthing] _____
English Copper Company _____
Welch Copper Company (worth nothing at all) _____
Royal Fishery Company, (ditto) _____
(N. B. The Hudson's Bay Company's capital being so
small as about 110,000l. was ingrossed by so few, that it
was not known what its price was at that time.)

III. 12 Note also, That beside the great legal companies,
whose stocks were usually transacted in 'Change-Alley,
there were, and still are, some whose capitals are too
small to come thither, and do therefore vary but little in
price; such as the New-River Company; the London-
Bridge Water Company; the Shadwell, Hampstead,
Southwark, and Chelsea Water Companies. Also the
Sun Fire Office Insurance: fundry also of obsolete joint-
stock corporations, so far sunk and deserted, that their
stock, at this time, bore no price at all: such were

DESERTED COMPANIES.

The Mine-Adventurers Company of England
The Sword-blade Company

Original Money paid in or due.	£.	per share	per share	per share	per share, be- fore any mo- ney paid.	per cent.	for ditto.
£.							
5		70	per share				
10		20	per share				
10		250	per share				
		160	per share, be- fore any mo- ney paid.				
15		120	per cent.				
4		8	per share				

The Frame-work Knitters Company, and
The Charitable Corporation for Pledges.

LOCAL and PARTICULAR PROJECTS.

- IV. For making the river Douglas navigable — — — — —
 For fresh water brought to Liverpool — — — — —
 Temple-Mills brags works — — — — —
 Fish-pool, for bringing fresh fish by sea to London, (Sir
 Richard Steele's) — — — — —
 Harburg Company (for bringing commerce thither from
 Hamburg, and for a lottery there, 1,500,000l. nominal }
 capital) — — — — —
 Puckle's Machine Gun, called the Defence — — — — —
 Another Harburg subscription, (Burgess's) ineffectual — — — — —
 Projects or bubbles, having neither charter nor act of pa-
 liament to authorize them: none of which were under
 one million, and some went as far as ten millions: how
 ridiculous and improbable forever they may now seem to
 many not acquainted with the insatiation of that year,
 viz.

- V.

The

	Original Money paid in, or due.		Highest Prices fold for in 1710.	
	£. s. d.	per share	£. s.	
The Orkney fishery	25		250	
Globe-Permits, (for subscribing some time or other, to a project for a sail-cloth manufacture)	1	per share	70	
For building of ships to let to freight	2 6		15	
For raising of hemp and flax at home	2 10	per share	1 10	
Another in Pennsylvania	5	per share	28	
Improvement of land, (Sir John Lambert's)	10	per share	20	
For a whale fishery, (by ditto)		per cent.	3 10	
National permits for a fishery, (George James's) 50,000 permits, at 6l. each	5	per share	60	Each permit before any money paid down.
Salt to be made at Holyhead, (two millions)	5	per share	25	
For settling on the Bahama Islands, [6000l. had actually been paid in on this project, in which many eminent persons were sufferers, as appeared by their petition to parliament, Feb. 1723-4, but was rejected, because it would have brought endless petitions of that sort, for redress of such grievances]	3	per share	40	
The Grand Fishery, (so named)	10	per share	5	
A Bottomree Company	1	per share	3	

Westley's

	Original Money paid in		Highest Prices fold for in 1726.
	£. s. d.	per share	£.
Westley's Auctions, [i. e. Actions] for buying and selling of stocks	7 10	per share	100
General insurance from fire, (1,200,000l.)	2 6	per share	8
Royal Exchange Assurance, (500,000l.) valued at 2,500,000l.	Sundry payments		250
London Assurance Company, 36,000 shares, 12l. 10s. each, valued at 3,600,000l. once	Ditto		175
			per cent.
			per share

N. B. Some of these foregoing bubbles, we may see, were fold at above six times the money paid in on the same: others very near so high, and all shamefully and madly raised. It would be endless to hunt for the prices of many more, which were the mere embryos of a few days, though they drew in very many unwary persons to their undoing. We shall therefore content ourselves with exhibiting a bare list of them in the following catalogue, viz.

VI. FISH.

VI. FISHERIES.

1. Cawood's North-Sea fishery.
2. British fishery.
3. A royal fishery (for ten millions.)
- 4, 5. Two more Greenland, or whale fisheries.
6. A Grand American fishery.
7. Garraway's, or Pillan's fishery.
8. The free fishery.
9. A coral fishery.
10. Wrecks to be fished for on the Irish coast.
11. Another Greenland fishery.
12. Orkney fishery.

VII. SALT.

1. Another salt project, (beside one already mentioned)
2. Rock-salt project.
3. Saltpetre to be made.
4. Salt-pans in Holy Island, (two millions)

VIII. INSURANCES.

1. Sadler's-Hall insurance, (afterwards united to the Royal-Exchange ditto)
2. Insurance of horses and other cattle, (two millions)
3. Insurance and improvement of childrens fortunes.
4. Insurance of houses and goods in Ireland, (with an English earl at the head of it)
5. Insurance of losses by servants.
6. Friendly Society for insurances.
7. British insurance, (so called)
8. Shales's insurance.
9. Insurance against theft and robbery.
10. Ditto for insuring of seamen's wages.

IX. For making of fire-engines.

X. REMITTANCES OF MONEY.

1. General remittance and insurance of debts.
2. Stogdon's remittances.

XI. WATER COMPANIES.

1. An engine to bring fresh water into the town of Deal, in Kent.
2. A project to bring water by a new canal from St. Albans to London.
3. Another from Rickmansworth to London.
4. To make salt-water fresh.

XII. SUM-

XII. SUGAR.

1. Refining of sugar.
2. Bleaching or whitening of coarse sugar without fire.

XIII. For building of hospitals for bastard children.

XIV. AMERICA.

1. For settling the Isle of Santa Cruz in America.
2. — ditto, for the Isles of Blanco and Sal-Tortuga in ditto.
3. Trade to the river Oronoko.
4. Trade to Nova-Scotia, (two millions)
5. Ditto to the Golden Islands, [Sir Rob. Montgomery's]
6. Ditto for importing of naval stores from Nova-Scotia and Virginia.
7. Ditto for walnut-tree from Virginia, (two millions)
8. Ditto for hemp and flax from Pennsylvania.
9. Ditto for beaver fur, (two millions)
10. Ditto for pitch and tar, from America and Scotland.
11. Ditto for importing and exporting of tobacco, (four millions)

XV. BUILDINGS.

1. Building and re-building of houses in England.
2. For purchasing grounds to build on in London.

XVI. LANDS.

1. For meliorating of lands.
2. For improving of lands in Great-Britain, (four millions subscribed for)
3. Ditto in Flintshire, (one million subscribed for)
4. For improving the breed of horses, and the improvement of glebe and church lands, &c.
5. Planting of madder.
6. Improving of gardens.
7. For purchasing and improving of lands.
8. Ditto for a royalty in Essex.
9. Ditto for fenny lands in Lincolnshire.
10. Ditto for improving of tillage and cattle.
11. Another for the breed of horses.
12. Another for purchasing the forfeited estates, (Sir James Hallet's) 1,200,000l. subscribed.
13. For the corn trade.

XVII. For erecting of turnpikes and wharfs.

XVIII. For dealing in hops.

XIX. For building of ships against pirates.

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XX. For

XX. For buying of naval and victualling stores for the use of the royal navy.

XXI. OIL BUBBLES.

1. An oil patent, with land security.
2. Rape-oil, subscription.
3. Beech-oil, [Aaron Hill's project]
4. For making of oil from poppies.
5. Ditto from sun-flower seed.
6. Ditto from raddish seed.

XXII. For the corn trade.

XXIII. For drying of malt with hot air.

XXIV. For improving of malt liquors, (four millions)

XXV. For recovering of seamens wages.

XXVI. For working of tin-plates, (or whited iron-plates)
[or This manufacture, since the year 1720, is brought to great perfection in Monmouthshire, and elsewhere in England; which before we had intirely from Germany; ours being now also of greater beauty and durableness than any foreign tinned plates.]

XXVII. HARBOURS and RIVERS.

1. For repairing of Morison's haven.
2. For an engine to take up ballast.
3. For making the river Dee, in Cheshire, navigable.
4. Ditto for the river Douglas.

XXVIII. For cleansing and paving London streets, [two millions]

XXIX. SUPPLIES for LONDON, viz.

1. For supplying of London with sea-coal, (three millions)
2. _____ with cattle.
3. _____ with hay and straw.
4. _____ paving its streets, (two millions)

XXX. West's permits for buying and selling of stocks.

XXXI. HEMP, FLAX, and their MANUFACTURES, viz.

1. For planting of hemp and flax in Scotland and Ireland, and for making of sail-cloth, cordage, &c.
- 2, and 3. Two other different sail-cloth subscriptions.
4. For the Holland and sail-cloth manufactures.
5. For the cambrick and lawn manufactures.
6. Sail-cloth in Ireland.

XXXII. For

XXXII. For the SILK and COTTON MANUFACTURES, viz.

1. For raising of silk-worms.
2. Another for planting of mulberry-trees, and breeding of silk-worms in Chelsea-Park, (by Sir Richard Manningham) where 2000 of those trees were actually planted, and many large expensive edifices were erected; the remains whereof are scarcely now to be seen!
3. For making of muslin.
4. For improving the cotton, and the silk and cotton manufactures.
5. Another for improving the silk manufactures.

XXXIII. METALS, MINES, and MINERALS, viz.

1. For making of iron and steel in Great-Britain, (four millions)
2. For the improving of English iron and steel.
3. For extracting of silver from lead.
4. For improving the tin-mines of Cornwall and Devonshire.
5. For the transmuting of quicksilver into a malleable and fine metal.
6. For smelting of lead.
7. For milling of lead.
8. For improving of Mr. Wood's iron works and manufactures.
9. For improving the lead-mines in Gloucestershire.
10. For the importing of Swedish iron.
11. For the improving of English copper and brass.
12. For improving the Derbyshire mines.
13. Ditto for the Jamaica mines.
14. For improving the British allum-works.
15. For making of iron with pit-coal.

XXXIV. For the making of China ware and Delft ware.

XXXV. For importing a number of large jack-asses from Spain, in order to propagate a larger kind of mules in England: for which purpose marsh-lands were treating for near Woolwich. A clergyman, long since dead, being at the head of this bubble.

XXXVI. For trading in human hair.

XXXVII. Ditto in Flanders lace.

XXXVIII. For fattening of hogs.

XXXIX. For preparing of tobacco for the making of snuff.

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XL. For purchasing or recovering of estates illegally detained.

XLI. For a more inoffensive method of emptying or cleansing of necessary-houses.

XLII. For better curing of the venereal disease.

XLIII. A subscription advertised, and actually opened, for an undertaking, which shall in due time be revealed.

XLIV. For importing of timber from Germany.

XLV. Ditto ————— from Norway.

XLVI. For a trade to his majesty's German dominions.

XLVII. For the exportation of our woollen manufacture, and the importation of copper, brass, and iron.

XLVIII. For the more effectual making of Colchester bays.

XLIX. For employing the poor, [Lawr. Braddon]

L. For employing poor artificers, and for furnishing merchants with money.

LI. For lending money to merchants to pay their duties; for purchasing government securities; for granting annuities for lives; and for building of ships to let to freight.

LII. For lending money on stocks, annuities, &c.

LIII. Another ditto for lending money on interest.

LIV. Another ditto for the encouragement of the industrious.

LV. For making of glass bottles.

LVI. For making of coach-glasses and looking-glasses, [two millions]

LVII. For making of pitch, tar, turpentine, &c.

LVIII. For making of pantiles.

LIX. For making of soap.

LX. For making of Joppa and Castile soap.

LXI. For making of Manchester stuffs, cottons, and tapes.

LXII. For a grand dispensary, [three millions]

LXIII. For a wheel for a perpetual motion.

LXIV. For lading and entering goods at the Custom-house.

LXV. For trading in and improving certain commodities of this kingdom, [three millions]

LXVI. For a trade to Barbary, (Jezreel Jones's)

LXVII. For making of pasteboard and packing-paper.

LXVIII. Another for the paper manufacture.

LXIX. For making of starch.

LXX. For building and re-building of houses throughout England, [three millions]

LXXI. For

- LXXI. For furnishing of funerals.
- LXXII. Another for buying and selling of lands, and lending money at interest, [five millions]
- LXXIII. Loan-offices for encouraging the industrious.
- LXXIV. For the clothing, felt, and pantile trades.
- LXXV. Insuring and increasing children's fortunes.
- LXXVI. For importing of oils and other materials for the woollen manufactures.
- LXXVII. For paying pensions to widows, &c. at a small discount, [two millions]
- LXXVIII. For employing poor artificers, furnishing merchants, &c. with watches.
- LXXIX. For insuring of masters for the losses sustained by servants, [three millions]
- LXXX. Timber from Wales.

It appeared by an enquiry in the house of commons, when the South-Sea Company's bill was under discussion there, that the propensity to set on foot new projects, had been very prevalent for two or three years past. Among the many abortive schemes started, two of a more mature growth, were brought into existence, and continue to this day. A charter was granted to certain private gentlemen and merchants, to form themselves into a body corporate, by the name they still bear, of the Royal Exchange Assurance Company; its capital consisting of five hundred thousand pounds. Another association was likewise incorporated for insuring ships and merchandize, by the name of "the London Assurance Company." Its first subscription was two millions, and its present stock or capital, consists of thirty-six thousand shares, on each of which twelve pounds ten shillings was originally paid. Thus arose the two very useful and flourishing insurance corporations, who also are empowered to lend money upon bottomree, and each of them afterwards obtained charters for insuring from loss by fire. For the obtaining their charter, each company

company paid three hundred thousand pounds for discharging the king's civil list debts, but part of that sum was afterwards remitted.

We return now farther to consider the unfortunate situation of the proprietors of the British national debts, subscribed into the South-Sea Company, and the purchasers of South-Sea stock by money subscriptions at high prices. The chief resource of these unfortunate dupes now lay in the legislature, by whose interposition they hoped to obtain an equitable distribution, of the undivided South-Sea stock as far as that would go. A select committee of the house of commons, which sat in the beginning of the year 1721, made several reports against the conduct of the South-Sea directors, and indirectly against others in very high stations, some of whom were expressly included in the laws made for mulcting those directors, and for sequestrating their estates, and those of some of their principal servants. Knight, the treasurer of the South-Sea Company, who had been entrusted with the whole affair, thought proper to withdraw himself from the kingdom; a proclamation was issued to apprehend him, and another for preventing any of the directors from escaping out of the kingdom. Knight was seized at Tirlemont, and committed to the citadel of Antwerp. The British minister at the court of Vienna, hereupon applied for the delinquent to be delivered up, in order that he might be brought to justice, but the wealth which he had amassed, procured him protection from the States of Brabant, who insisted that they enjoyed a chartered privilege, by which all persons apprehended for crimes within their jurisdiction, were amenable to that state. The house of commons were much incensed at the protection which was thus granted to a man who had defrauded a whole nation, but whilst the emperor was afresh entreated to interpose, Knight escaped from his confinement,

confinement, and found means to elude the vigilance of his pursuers.

In the mean time, the house of commons pursued their enquiries with great spirit; Mr. Secretary Craggs and Mr. Aislaby, chancellor of the exchequer, were found to have been concerned with the South-Sea directors in their delusive projects. Craggs died before the censure of the house was passed upon his conduct, but Aislaby was expelled the house, and committed a prisoner to the Tower. The South-Sea directors were ordered to deliver inventories of their estates, which were confiscated by act of parliament, towards making good the damages sustained by the company, after a certain allowance was deducted for the subsistence of each, according to his former rank, and as he had been more or less concerned in the frauds.

The whole capital stock of the company had amounted to near 38,000,000, at the end of the year 1720, and only twenty-four millions and a half were allotted to the proprietors, the remaining capital stock belonging to the company in their corporate capacity. It was the profit arising from the execution of the South-Sea scheme, and out of this the bill enacted, that seven millions should be paid to the public. The present act likewise directed several additions to be made to the stock of the proprietors, out of that possessed by the company in their own right: it made a particular distribution of stock, amounting to two millions two hundred thousand pounds, and upon remitting five millions of the seven to be paid to the public, annihilated two millions of their capital. It was enacted, that after these distributions, the remaining capital stock should be divided among all the proprietors. This dividend amounted to thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight-pence per cent. and deprived the company of eight millions nine hundred thousand pounds. They had lent above 11,000,000 on stock unredeemed; of which the parliament

ment discharged all the debtors upon their paying ten per cent. Upon this article, the company's loss exceeded six millions, nine hundred thousand pounds, for many debtors refused to make any payment. The proprietors of the stock loudly complained of their being deprived of two millions, and the parliament in the sequel, revived that sum which had been annihilated. By the wise and vigorous resolutions of the parliament, the South-Sea Company was soon in a condition to fulfil their engagements with the public, the ferment of the people subsided, and the credit of the nation was restored*.

Whilst these domestic ferments prevailed, the affairs of the north were still involved in disagreement and contention. After the death of Charles XII. the Swedes asserted that their crown was elective not hereditary, and proceeded to elect Frederic, prince of Hesse, consort to their queen, for their king, at her express desire. Hereby they excluded the duke of Holstein her sister's son. The czar Peter entered into the interests of this young prince, and proposed to the Swedish diet, that they should annul their election, and settle the crown on the prince of Holstein, after which he engaged to give him his daughter in marriage, and for her dower the provinces which he had conquered from Sweden; at the same time intimating, that if his offer was refused, they must expect the war to be prosecuted with redoubled fury; and in confirmation of this threat, he caused great naval preparations to be made in all his ports. As Ulrica Eleanor, queen of Sweden, had entered into a close league with the king of Great-Britain, it was thought necessary to support her husband in his possession of the throne; whereupon Sir John Norris was again sent into the Baltic, with a strong squadron,

* Smollet's History of England, Vol. X. p. 273.

In order to prevail on the czar to enter into terms of peace. The English fleet joined that of Sweden as auxiliaries, but they had no opportunity of acting against the Russian squadron, which secured itself in Revel. The superiority which was hereby maintained in the Baltic, inclined the czar to listen to an accommodation; and peace was concluded at Neistadt, on the 31st day of August 1721. By this treaty the czar was secured in the possession of those provinces which he had conquered, in return for which the Swedes received various immunities and advantages. This important business being settled, Sir John Norris took leave of the Swedish court, and sailed for Copenhagen, where he arrived in the beginning of the month of October; and soon after he proceeded to England.

The admiralty-board now underwent a change; the earl of Berkley was appointed first lord, Sir John Jennings, John Cockburn, and William Chetwynd, Esqrs; Sir John Norris, Sir Charles Wager, and Daniel Pulteney, Esq; commissioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral of Great Britain.

The parliament met on the 19th day of October; when the house of commons granted seven thousand men for the service of the sea, for the year 1722, at the usual rate of four pounds a man per month, at thirteen months in the year; and two hundred and eighteen thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine pounds four shilling and seven-pence was granted for the ordinary of the navy.

About the beginning of December, Sir Charles Wager and rear-admiral Hosier, were appointed to command a squadron, which was fitted out upon a secret expedition, which was generally thought to be designed against Portugal, to demand satisfaction for an insult offered the British nation at Lisbon, in the persons of Messrs Wingfield and Roberts, two gentlemen

of the factory there, whose effects had been seized, their persons imprisoned, and they even condemned to death, under the pretence of their having exported gold coin. A law had been made in Portugal, by which the exportation of any coin whatsoever was forbidden upon pain of death; but the nature of the trade with England, made it necessary for the government to connive at the violation of this statute: the woollen manufactures which are imported into Portugal from England, being more in value than six returns of wine. The motives which led the ministry of the court of Lisbon to exercise this act of severity is not known, but the vigorous measures which were taken by the British cabinet, so effectually alarmed those against whom they were designed, that the gentlemen of the factory were set at liberty, and their property restored to them, and the whole affair amicably adjusted. Hereupon the naval armament was laid aside, and the harmony between the two nations became re-established.

Whilst the tranquillity of Europe thus continued uninterrupted, the piratical depredations in the West-Indies and America, which had been suppressed by the vigilance of governor Rogers and other commanders there, began to be renewed. The Spaniards, who secretly fomented these outrages, had occasioned their renewal. The most considerable of these freebooters was one Roberts, who was an experienced seaman, fearless of danger, qualified to command, and ever vigilant in the execution of his designs. He had with him three ships; that on which he was on board, carried forty guns, and one hundred and fifty-two men; another had thirty-two guns, and one hundred and thirty-two men; the third was a vessel of twenty-four guns and ninety-men. With this force Roberts did incredible mischief in the West-Indies, afterwards he sailed to Africa, where he took
many

many prizes, but captain Ogle, in the *Swallow*, was fortunate enough to suppress this free-booter in the month of April 1722. This service was performed with great address in the following manner.

As he was cruising off Cape Lopez, he received intelligence that Roberts and his three ships were in an adjoining bay, whereupon he took in his lower tier of guns, and appearing in sight, the pirates mistook him for a merchantman, and one of the ships slipped her cable, and gave chase. Captain Ogle crowded sail to draw his pursuer to such a distance that his confederates might not hear the report of the guns; which, as soon he had reached, he instantly tacked, run out his lower tier, and poured his broadside into the pirate, which killed the commander Skyrn; notwithstanding which, the engagement was supported for an hour and an half, when she struck. Captain Ogle then bent his course back to the bay, and to deceive the other two ships, he hoisted the king's colours under the pirate's black flag, with a death's head in it. This stratagem succeeded, for the pirates seeing the black flag uppermost, concluded the king's ship had been taken, and quitted their harbour to congratulate their consort on his victory. But they soon found their mistake, when a desperate engagement ensued, which continued for near two hours. Roberts, whose determined bravery had till then rendered the contest doubtful, was at length killed, when the exertions of his adherents immediately abated, and both ships soon after struck. Captain Ogle carried his prizes into Cape Coast-castle, having taken one hundred and sixty men on board the three ships. Here the prisoners were brought to their trials, seventy-four of them were capitally convicted, of these fifty-two were executed, and most of them hung in chains along the coast. This act of justice had a very good effect in suppressing that spirit

of rapine which was too ready to break out, as the taking several pirates in the West-Indies, towards the latter end of the same year, did in those seas. But these successes were far from putting an end to the mischief, so that it was found necessary soon after, to send several ships of war to the northern colonies and to Jamaica, which, by degrees, extirpated this dangerous crew of robbers*.

The British government were informed, that the emissaries of the pretender were very busy in carrying on their intrigues at several foreign courts, and that they had fitted out a ship, called the Resolution, which then lay in the mole of Genoa. Orders were hereupon dispatched to the captains of such English ships of war as were cruising in the Mediterranean, to seize and possess themselves of this vessel, which they performed in the beginning of the month of November. But though the ship was secured, the officers escaped.

On the 28th day of August 1722, an hurricane happened at Jamaica, which is said to have been the most remarkable that ever was known in that island. Great numbers of the inhabitants were crushed by the sudden fall of their houses, but many more were swept away by an overwhelming inundation of the sea, which being raised by the violence of the wind to a much greater height than was ever known before, broke down the mounds which fenced it off, and spread destruction over a large track of country. In this calamity, the town of Port Royal was particularly involved. At Kingston great damage was done by the force of the wind, but that town was safe from the inroads of the sea. All the vessels that rode in its harbour, however, which were between forty and fifty sail, were either driven on shore or

* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 473.

overfet

overfet or funk; many large fhips with all their lading were thrown quite upon dry land; and the next day, when the ftorm abated, nothing was to be feen in the harbour but wrecks and dead bodies. At Spanifh town the houfes were unroofed, and many blown down, but fortunately no lives were loft. The damage which the trading part of the ifland fufained by the lofs of their fhipping and goods was immense, whilft the planters were reduced to the moft diftrefled circumftances by the lofs of their dwelling houfes and fugar works. Had the fury of the tempeft continued fome hours longer, the whole ifland would have become one general wreck, and nothing fhort of final and univerfal ruin would have enfued*.

The parliament having met on the 9th of October, the houfe of commons, on the 24th of the fame month, granted ten thoufand men for the fea-fervice, at four pounds per month, for the year 1723; and, on the 29th, they refolved, that two hundred and fixteen thoufand three hundred and eighty-eight pounds fourteen fhillings and eight-pence be allowed for the ordinary of the navy, for the fame year; and foon after, the king was pleafed to promote captain Charles Strickland, to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, in the room of admiral Mighells, who was appointed comptroller of the navy; and admiral Littleton dying the fifth of February, rear-admiral Strickland fucceeded him as vice-admiral of the white; and Sir George Walton was made rear-admiral of the blue, the other admirals taking place according to their feniORITY.

The year 1723 was remarkable for the death of the duke of Orleans, regent of France, who fince the deceafe of Louis XIV. had ruled that nation with the moft abfolute authority. From the infirm con-

* Letter to Sir Hans Sloane, baronet. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. IV. p. 475.

ftitution

stitution of the infant king, he had conceived hopes of ascending the throne, and concerted his measures accordingly, by entering into close friendship with Great Britain and other powers, to enable him to oppose the pretensions of Philip of Spain, who in that case would have been his competitor. But how vain are the schemes of human ambition! Louis XV. as he advanced towards manhood, became healthy and robust, and the aspiring regent was cut off in an instant by an apoplexy, in the 50th year of his age. The duke of Bourbon succeeded as prime minister of France, whose elevation did not at all change the pacific disposition of that court towards Great Britain.

In the beginning of the next year, Philip, king of Spain, grown weary of the crown he had laboured so assiduously to acquire, determined to renounce the world, and retired with his queen to the monastery of St. Ildefonso. Hereupon he sent the marquis of Grimaldi, his principal secretary of state, to his son the prince of Asturias, with a solemn renunciation of the crown, and a letter of advice, in which he exhorted him to cultivate the blessed Virgin with the warmest devotion, and put himself and his kingdoms under her protection. The renunciation was published through the whole monarchy of Spain; and the council of Castile resolved, that Louis, the young prince, might assume the reins of government withuot assembling the cortez.

On the 20th of April 1725, a petition was presented to the house by the lord Finch, in behalf of Henry St. John lord viscount Bolingbroke, praying, that the execution of the law with respect to his forfeiture might be suspended; as a pardon had already suspended it with respect to his life. Mr. Walpole hereupon signified to the house, by his majesty's command, that seven years before, the petitioner had made

made his humble application and submission to the king, with assurances of duty, allegiance and fidelity. That from his behaviour since that time, his majesty was convinced of his being a fit object of his mercy; and consented to his petitioning the house. The petition being read, Mr. Walpole declared himself fully satisfied, that the petitioner had sufficiently atoned for his past offences, and therefore deserved the favour of that house, so far as to enable him to enjoy the family inheritance that was settled upon him, which he could not do by virtue of his majesty's pardon, without an act of parliament. Lord Finch moved, that a bill might be brought in for this purpose; and was warmly opposed by Mr. Methuen, comptroller of the household, who represented Bolingbroke as a monster of iniquity. His remonstrance was supported by lord William Powlet and Mr. Onslow; notwithstanding this opposition, the bill was passed through both houses, and received the royal assent*.

The public tranquillity was now threatened to be again disturbed by a new system of politics being adopted by the powers upon the continent. The present king of Spain died soon after his accession to the throne, which drew his father Philip from his monastic retreat, and led him to resume that crown which he had surrendered. He was no sooner reinstated in his regal dignity, than he gave up the reins of government to the entire management of his queen, who possessed an active enterprising spirit, and whose ambition was unbounded. The Infanta of Spain had been contracted in marriage to the French king, but that monarch conceived so violent a dislike to his consort, that he determined to send her back, the nuptials not having been consummated.

* Smollett's History of England, Vol. X. p. 302.

The queen of Spain resented this insult offered to her daughter; and, in revenge, dismissed mademoiselle de Beaujolois, one of the regent's daughters, who had been betrothed to her son Don Carlos. A peace between the courts of Vienna and Madrid was concluded at Vienna, by the duke de Ripperda, on the part of his Catholic majesty. By this treaty the emperor agreed to acknowledge Philip, as king of Spain and the Indies; and engaged to offer him no molestation in the possession of those dominions that were secured to him by the treaty of Utrecht. On the other hand, Philip renounced all pretensions to the dominions in Italy, and the Netherlands which the emperor held. At the same time a treaty of commerce was signed, by which the subjects of Austria were entitled to advantages in trade with Spain, superior to any other nation: the king of Spain guaranteed the *Ostend East India Company*; and agreed to pay an annual subsidy of four millions of piastres to the emperor.

King George could not remain a calm spectator of this close alliance, formed between two powers, one of which the arms and treasure of Great Britain had been employed to raise upon the ruin of the other. To counteract this new confederacy, a defensive treaty was entered into between Great Britain, France and Prussia, and concluded at Hanover in the month of September, 1725. Hereby the dominions, possessed by the contracting parties, were mutually guaranteed, as well as the commercial interests of each power. King George, in his return from Hanover, after having ratified this alliance, embarked on board the *Carolina* yacht, at Helvoetsluys, on New Year's Day, 1726, with a fair wind at north-east, and sailed immediately: a few hours after he had got out to sea, a violent storm arose, which dispersed the fleet, so that only one man of war, commanded by captain Danſie, kept

kept company with the king's yacht, on board of which was Sir John Norris. This tempest continued with unabating fury for thirty-six hours, so that the whole fleet as well as the royal yacht, were exposed to the most imminent danger. On the 3d day of January in the morning, the winds subsided, when the yachts and the men of war that convoyed them were near Dover; the king that same day landed at Rye, and proceeded from thence to London. On the 20th the parliament met, on which occasion the king in his speech took notice of the engagements which had been entered into by some foreign powers, which seemed to threaten Europe with fresh troubles and commotions, and particularly to deprive Great Britain of some beneficial branches of her commerce. These proceedings he observed had obliged him to concert with other powers, such measures, as might give a check to the ambitious views of those who were endeavouring to render themselves formidable, and put a stop to the farther progress of such dangerous designs. He added, that the enemies of his government were already very busy by their instruments and emissaries in those courts, whose measures seemed most to favour their purposes, in soliciting and promoting the cause of the pretender.

On the 26th of January, the house of commons resolved, that ten thousand men be employed for the sea-service, for the year 1726, at four pounds a man per month, for thirteen months. The 23d of February they resolved, that two hundred and twelve thousand three hundred and eighty-one pounds five shillings be granted for the ordinary of the navy for the same year. But this provision being not thought sufficient, his majesty on the 24th of March, sent a message to the house of commons, importing, that he found it necessary, to augment his maritime force, and hoped he should be enabled by the assistance of

parliament, to increase the number of seamen already voted, and granted for the service of this year, that he might thereby, not only secure to his own subjects, the full and free enjoyment of their trade and navigation, but, in the best manner, prevent and frustrate such designs as had been formed against the particular interest of this nation, and the general peace of Europe. Upon this message, a very warm debate ensued, which issued in an address from the house to his majesty, desiring that he would be pleased to make such an addition to the number of seamen already voted, and to concert such other measures, as he in his great wisdom should think most conducive to the security of the trade and navigation of this kingdom, and to the preservation of the peace of Europe; assuring his majesty, that they would effectually provide for, and make good all such expences and engagements as should be entered into for obtaining those great and desirable ends.

As soon as the courts of Vienna and Madrid apprehended that their views were crossed, and the ends proposed by their conjunction disappointed, by the counter-alliance at Hanover, they immediately resolved to have recourse to foreign negotiations, in order to increase the number of their allies; and when they found themselves sufficiently powerful, they designed to have resorted to open force. With a view to render this scheme effectual, the emperor began to execute some projects in the north, in which he met, at first, with extraordinary success. The czarina Catherine, relict of the czar Peter the first, had conceived a distaste to the British court, and had, by some Scottish people about her, been drawn to believe it might prove no difficult task to overturn the government in Great Britain, and place the chevalier de St. George on that throne. The same scheme had been proposed at the Imperial court, by some
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of the ministers; information of which, having been given to the court of London, his majesty took notice of it in his speech. The Spanish court readily adopted that, or any other expedient which might procure them Gibraltar, and facilitate their acquisitions in Italy, then, and still the great objects of their policy.

Such being the posture of affairs, it was resolved in council to send a strong fleet into the Baltic, to overawe the Czarina, whilst another squadron should sail to the coast of Spain, and a third to the West-Indies. The command of the armament for the north was given to Sir Charles Wager, under whom was Sir George Walton. It consisted of twenty-two ships of the line, one frigate, and an hospital ship. The admiral hoisted his flag on board the Torbay, a third rate, at the Nore, on the 13th day of April, 1726, and on the 17th set sail, and arrived in Copenhagen road on the 25th. Here he was joined by some Danish men of war, and had the honour to entertain the prince royal of Denmark on board his ship. From Copenhagen Sir Charles proceeded to Stockholm, where his fleet anchored on the 6th day of May. After having had an audience of his Swedish majesty, the admiral steered towards Revel, and took the first opportunity that offered, of sending a letter which the king of Great Britain had written to the Czarina, enclosed in one to her admiral Apraxin. The king in this letter, expostulated very freely on the subject of the Czarina's armaments, by sea and land, and on the intrigues into which her ministers had lately entered with the agents of the pretender. The court of Russia was highly displeased at this appearance of a British fleet on their coast, but not having a force sufficient to oppose it, they reluctantly refrained from acts of hostility; however, the answer which her Imperial majesty returned, was strongly expres-

five of displeasure. Sir Charles Wager continued off Revel till the 28th day of September, when having received certain intelligence that the Russians had laid up their ships in their winter harbour, he returned to Copenhagen, and from thence sailed for England, where he arrived on the first day of November.

The fleet under Sir John Jennings, which was destined to cruise off the coast of Spain, consisted of nine large men of war, which were afterwards joined by several ships from the Mediterranean. The admiral sailed from St. Helens on the 28th day of July, having on board a body of land forces. On the 3d day of August he entered the bay of St. Antonio, and spread consternation among the Spaniards. On the 25th day of the same month, the fleet arrived off Lisbon. The king of Portugal signifying his desire of seeing our admiral, he went on shore, and waited on his most faithful majesty, then re-embarking, he sailed for the bay of Bulls, near Cadiz, and cruised off Cape St. Mary, yet carefully avoiding all acts of hostility. The Spanish governor of Cadiz, treated him with great civility, and supplied him with refreshments. After remaining for some time on this station, the admiral returned to England, having fully effected the purposes for which the expedition was undertaken. The councils of Spain were at that time divided: in the cabinet a party prevailed, which breathed nothing but a rupture with Great Britain, whilst many members there opposed such desperate measures, as big with danger. The duke de Ripperda, a native of Holland, who had renounced the protestant religion, and embraced that of the church of Rome, having entered into the service of the king of Spain, rapidly advanced through the different gradations of power, until he became prime minister, and the favourite of his sovereign: this man, whom we have already seen negotiate the treaty with the Imperial

rial court, was suspected of having divulged the secrets of the cabinet to the English minister residing at Madrid, and narrowly escaped with his life; he was, however, by the assistance of colonel Stanhope, the British ambassador, afterwards earl of Harrington, enabled to escape out of the kingdom.

The third expedition under rear-admiral Hosier, still remains to be treated of. He sailed for the West-Indies with seven ships of the line, on the 9th day of April, 1726, having instructions to block up the galleons in their ports; or, if they ventured out to seize them and bring them to England. Although he had a quick passage, yet the Spaniards had received previous notice of his destination; so that before his arrival at the Bastimentos near Porto-Bello, the treasure which had been put on board the galleons, and which amounted to six millions and a half sterling, was relanded, and carried back to Panama, on the other side the isthmus. On the 6th day of June, rear-admiral Hosier anchored within sight of Porto-Bello; the governor of which place thereupon sent to know his demands. Hosier answered, that he waited for the Royal George, a large South-Sea ship, then in the harbour, which had disposed of all her cargo, and had a very large sum of money on board. The Spaniards in order to get rid of so disagreeable an observer, caused her immediately to depart, whereby the ship, and the wealth she had on board, were secured. The consequences which they expected, however, did not follow. The admiral continued on the same station for six months, during which time his seamen were swept off by diseases, contracted through the unhealthiness of the climate, and his ships were so eaten by the worms as to be in a very ruinous condition. He was then obliged to return to Jamaica, where he again manned his fleet, by a number of seamen, whom he found there unemployed.

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He put to sea in two months, and stood over to Carthagena, but the Spaniards had by this time recovered from the panic into which they had been thrown at his first appearance; they did not scruple to seize the prince Frederic, a South-Sea ship, then at La Vera Cruz, with all the vessels and effects belonging to that company. Hostler in vain demanded restitution, after which he took some Spanish ships, by way of reprisal, which proved to be of no great value. This brave officer, after having remained some months on this unserviceable and destructive station, was seized with a distemper of which he died. The nation loudly complained of the manner in which this expedition was conducted, and saw with extreme regret, a number of valuable seamen destroyed, and a fine squadron rendered totally useless, by measures injudiciously concerted.

In the mean time, the king of Spain purchased ships of war, and began to make preparations for some important undertaking. He likewise assembled an army at St. Rook, which amounted to twenty thousand men, under pretence of rebuilding the old castle of Gibraltar. The alliance which had been formed at Hanover, underwent some changes, the States-general and the king of Sweden acceding to it, and the king of Prussia, though son-in-law to the king of Great Britain, withdrawing himself, and even leaguely with the emperor. The count de las Torres, who commanded the Spanish army, actually laid siege to Gibraltar by land, towards the close of the year 1726.

The parliament met on the 17th day of January, and soon after the house of commons voted twenty thousand men for the sea-service, and one hundred and ninety-nine thousand and seventy-one pounds for the ordinary of the navy; the land-tax was fixed at four shillings in the pound.

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The Imperial resident at London, presented an angry memorial to the king, in which the emperor, his master, was justified in entering into the alliance with Spain, which had given such umbrage to the court of London. The conduct of Spain in laying siege to Gibraltar was defended; and the impending rupture was roundly imputed to the conduct of the king of Great Britain. Both houses of parliament expressed their indignation at this insulting paper, and the Imperial minister was ordered immediately to quit the kingdom.

In this posture of affairs, the king entered into a closer alliance with the court of France, took ten thousand Swedish troops into British pay, and concluded a fresh treaty with the king of Denmark: he also made a convention with the prince of Hesse Cassel.

On the 11th day of February 1727, the trenches were opened before Gibraltar; a numerous garrison, well provided, defended the place. A small squadron was prepared at Portsmouth to sail with succours, and Sir Charles Wager hoisted his flag on board the *Kent*. The earl of Portmore, who was governor, embarked on board the admiral's ship, and a reinforcement was put on board the fleet for the garrison. Sir Charles arrived the beginning of April, and joined rear-admiral Hosier, who lay in the harbour, the communication by sea remaining open. When the troops from England were landed, the garrison amounted to six thousand men, including five hundred that had arrived from Minorca. Fresh provisions in great abundance were obtained from the coast of Barbary, so that the efforts of the besiegers were regarded only with contempt.

The latter end of April Sir John Norris was sent into the Baltic, and on his arrival there, he was joined by a Danish squadron. The death of the Czarina,

Czarina, which happened on the 17th day of May, prevented any act of hostilities being committed, and in consequence of that event, the fleet of Russia was laid up in harbour.

Notwithstanding these appearances of a widely extended war, yet the belligerent powers secretly dreaded the consequences of a rupture; and each of them earnestly wished for the re-establishment of tranquillity. The king of France interposed his mediation to prevent Europe being again embroiled, and the duke of Richelieu, his ambassador at Vienna, first proposed a plan of pacification. At length, all parties agreed to twelve preliminary articles, which were signed at Paris, in the month of May, by the ministers of the Hanover alliance, and afterwards at Vienna, by the Imperial and Spanish ambassadors. They imported, that hostilities should immediately cease; that the charter of the Ostend Company should be suspended for seven years, and that a congress should in four months be opened at Aix la Chapelle, for adjusting all differences, and consolidating the peace of Europe. This congress was afterwards transferred to Soissons, for the convenience of the French minister, whose presence was necessary at court. The siege of Gibraltar was raised, after it had continued four months, during which time, the Spaniards had lost a great number of men by sickness, while the garrison sustained very little loss. Some new difficulties were afterwards started by the court of Madrid, who refused to deliver up the South-Sea ship which had been detained at la Vera Cruz, so that Sir Charles Wager continued to cruize on the coast of Spain: but these and some other objections were removed in the sequel*.

* Smollet's History of England, Vol. X. p. 332.

King George had not now, for two years, visited his German dominions; and therefore, soon after the breaking up of parliament, he prepared for a journey to Hanover. Accordingly, having appointed an administration in his absence, he embarked for Holland; lay, upon his landing, at the little town of Vert; he next day proceeded on his journey; and, in two days more, between ten and eleven at night, arrived at Delden, to all appearance in perfect health. He supped there very heartily, and continued his progress early the next morning. Between eight and nine he ordered the coach to stop, and, it being perceived that one of his hands lay motionless, monsieur Fabrice, who had formerly been a servant of the king of Sweden, and now attended king George, chafed it between his. As this had no effect, the surgeon was called, who followed on horseback, who rubbed it with spirits; soon after the king's tongue began to swell, and he had just speech enough to bid them hasten to Osnaburg; and, falling into Fabrice's arms, quite insensible, never recovered, but expired about eleven o'clock the next morning. He died on Sunday the 11th day of June 1727, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the 13th of his reign.

George the First was a prince of great virtues; and had many qualities truly amiable. He was very well acquainted with the general interest of all the princes in Europe, and particularly well versed in whatever related to German affairs, with respect to which, he always acted as a true patriot, and a firm friend to the constitution of the empire. If he ever sacrificed the interests of Great Britain to foreign politics, his ministers stand accountable for the transgression, as he always declared an intention to govern according to the laws, and with no other view than the general good of his people. He was allowed, by the best judges

judges of military talents, to be an excellent officer. He was very capable of application, and understood business as well as any prince of his time. In his amusements, he was easy and familiar, of a temper very sensible of the services that were tendered him; firm in his friendships, naturally averse to violent measures, and as compassionate as any prince that ever sat upon a throne.

We shall now proceed to take notice of some of the most important commercial events that took place during this reign, and then close the volume with memoirs of the lives of the most eminent naval commanders, who flourished about this time.

In the year 1722, the king granted a patent to John duke of Montagu, of the West-India islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent. The duke hereupon sent out six ships, freighted with stores, and having on board a number of settlers: these no sooner arrived at St. Lucia, than the French governor of Martinico sent an express, to signify, that they must withdraw from the island in fifteen days, the French king having directed that St. Lucia as well as St. Vincent should remain in their former neutral condition, until a final decision should be made between the two crowns. To enforce which, two thousand men were landed at St. Lucia from Martinico, so that the attempt at making the settlement was laid aside. This expedition is supposed to have cost the duke no less than forty thousand pounds, being the greatest and most expensive undertaking ever entered upon by any one subject in christendom, on his own proper risk.

In the year 1725, the South-Sea Company commenced a whale fishery, in which they employed twelve new ships. They brought home twenty-five whales

whales and a half, but during the eight years in which they followed this branch of trade, they were in no year so successful. The expences attending this undertaking, were greatly enhanced by the English having long relinquished the trade, so that the company were obliged to procure their commanders, harpooners, boat-steerers, line yeerers, &c. from Holstein, which cost upwards of three thousand pounds annually, although not above one hundred and fifty in number*.

In the year 1726, a new charter was granted to the East-India Company, by which they were empowered to erect a corporation at fort St. George, by the name of the mayor and aldermen of Madrapatan in the East-Indies, and another corporation at or within the factory and town of Bombay, by the name of mayor and aldermen of Bombay. Also a third corporation, within the factory of Fort William in Bengal, by the name of the mayor and aldermen of Calcutta, at Fort William in Bengal; with perpetual succession to each of the three corporations, and a common seal. The charter farther empowered them to make bye-laws, and to try causes both civil and military, high-treason excepted.

In the last year of the reign of king George I. an act of parliament was passed, to authorize the South-Sea Company to purchase negroes at Madagascar, having first obtained the licence and consent of the East-India Company, within the limits of whose trade that island was supposed to be situated. These they were to convey immediately to Buenos Ayres, and on no account to dispose of them within the limits of the East-India Company's jurisdiction. Four ships were allowed to sail upon this trade, and the term granted the company by this act extended to six years.

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. II. p. 313.

At Midsummer 1727, the reduction of the interest on the national debts from five to four per cent. took place, whereby the sinking fund was increased to above one million per annum. Had the ministry from that period, scrupulously adhered to the paying off at least one million per annum of the public debts, from this time until the breaking out of the war with Spain in 1739, the restrictions laid on trade and commerce would by that time have been essentially lessened, but frugality in such a mixed government as ours, is little attended to by the executive power, which aims too much at strengthening the authority of the crown, by means of an unwieldy national debt. Hence it is, that the sinking fund has been either directly or indirectly sacrilegiously and wantonly violated, whence many taxes, duties, and customs, which were designed only to serve as a temporary expedient, have been perpetuated, and thereby become heavy clogs on our manufactures and foreign commerce. It has been calculated, that the sinking fund, if it had been applied to the discharge of the national debt, at the rate above given of a million a year, when that debt amounted to fifty millions, supposing it at four per cent. interest, and the sinking fund increasing annually in like proportion, as such a sum would do, if put out at compound interest, the whole national debt would have been discharged by the year 1756.

About this time the French first began to supply in considerable quantities the European markets with their sugars from Martinico, St. Domingo, and other settlements, which markets had formerly been entirely supplied by the English. And in a few years after, by their extraordinary assiduity they gained from us, almost all, or the greatest part of that very profitable branch of commerce.

MEMOIRS of Sir JOHN LEAKE; *Knight, Admiral of the Fleet, and a Commissioner of the Admiralty.*

BEFORE we speak of this great man, it will be necessary to say something of his family. His grandfather Mr. Richard Leake, was descended from the Leakes of Derbyshire, and was bred to the sea; upon breaking out of the civil wars, he took part with the parliament, and held a commission in their fleet under the command of the earl of Warwick*. His father was born at Harwich, in the year 1629. He too was bred to the sea, and brought into the parliament service when very young by his father, but before he was of years to choose a party in politics, most probably disrelishing the controul of a parent, he went over to the royalists, this he effected in a boat, some seamen accompanying him. His father who suspected his design, discovered the fugitives almost as soon as the boat was put off. Whereupon he ordered several guns to be fired, with a design either to stop or sink it, but without effect, so entirely were the feelings of a parent lost in resentment. Richard Leake; our admiral's father, having thus escaped, entered a volunteer in the king's service, but when an end was put to that contest, he went into the Dutch artillery, where he cultivated his natural genius for gunnery and engineering, in which he greatly excelled. By this time he was little more than twenty years of age. At the restoration he was made master gunner of the Princess, a frigate of fifty guns, and distinguished himself in the Dutch war, which broke out not long after, particularly in two very extraordinary actions. In 1669, captain

* Life of Sir John Leake, by Stephen Martin Leake, Esq; clarencieux king of arms, edit. 1750.

Richard

Richard Leake was promoted from the *Princess*, to be gunner of the *Royal Prince*, a first rate man of war. On board of this ship he was accompanied by his two sons Henry and John, the latter, of whom, who is the subject of these memoirs, was born at Rotherhithe, in June 1656, and here Sir Edward Spragge hoisted his flag in 1673. In the memorable battle, which was fought at the mouth of the Texel, on the 11th day of August*, the *Royal Prince* had all her masts shot away, near four hundred of her men killed or disabled, and most of her upper tier of guns dismounted. As she lay thus like a wreck for some time, a large Dutch ship bore down upon her with two fire ships; with a design either to burn her, or carry her off. The captain-lieutenant, Mr. (afterwards Sir) George Rooke, thinking it impossible to defend her, ordered the men to save their lives and the colours to be struck. Mr. Leake hearing this, forbade it, ordered the lieutenant off the quarter-deck, and took the command upon himself. "The *Royal Prince*," says he, "shall never be given up to the enemy while I am alive to defend her." Then calling his two sons, of whom Henry was his first mate, he told them his resolution, and that if they followed his example, he did not doubt of success. This undaunted spirit inspired the whole ship's company, they cheerfully renewed the fight, and their artillery being admirably well directed, they sunk both the fire ships, and obliged the Dutch man of war to sheer off. So that at length, after a long and desperate defence, half burnt, and almost reduced to a wreck, they brought the *Royal Prince* safe into Chatham, to the admiration of all who saw her. Captain Leake's eldest son Henry, was unfortunately slain in the action†.

* See Vol. II. pp. 273.
note B.

† *Biographia Britannica*, Art. Leake.

For this gallant service, captain Leake was appointed to the command of a yacht, and made master gunner of Whitehall, from whence he was soon after promoted to be master gunner of England, and store keeper of the ordnance at Woolwich; in holding which posts, he had full scope to display his genius. He is said to have been the chief inventor of these dreadful machines, which we have had frequent occasion to speak of, called infernals, although that refinement in the art of destruction is attributed to another. His favourite invention was called the cushie piece, so called, because intended to be placed at the fore-castle of a ship, as a piece of that name is placed in a galley; this piece, instead of firing shot, was designed to discharge shells and carcasses. The nation being then in profound peace, no opportunity offered for many years, of trying the efficacy of this new construction in an engagement, but when James the Second resolved to fit out a strong fleet, to prevent the invasion from Holland in 1688, the trial of the cushie piece was readily allowed, and the Fire-drake fire-ship being ordered for that service, his son John, for the better execution thereof, was appointed commander. At the setting out of this business, an unhappy incident occurred, Mr. John Leake's younger, and only brother Edward, being blown up at Woolwich as he was preparing the composition for the cushie shells*. We shall now confine ourselves to the actions of captain John Leake, the only surviving son of that engineer.

His father had taken care to have him well instructed in mathematics and gunnery, and he had entered early into the navy as a midshipman; in which station he was during the action in the Royal Prince, being then only seventeen years of age. At the close of

* Life of Sir John Leake, p. 5, & seq.

the

the last Dutch war, he engaged in the merchant's service, and had the command of a ship in two or three voyages up the Mediterranean. But his inclination lying to the navy, he did not remain long out of it, for in 1677, he was appointed mate to his father, then master gunner of England, whom he had two years before succeeded in the post of gunner to the *Neptune*, a second rate man of war. He remained in this post without any promotion, till the latter end of king James's reign, when, as has been already mentioned, he obtained the command of the *Fire-drake* fire-ship. Which by the list, which the reader will find in our second volume*, was stationed at Long Reach, when the prince of Orange landed in Torbay; after which he joined the rest of the protestant officers in an address to that prince. Captain John Leake was continued in his command after the revolution; and in this ship he performed such signal service at the battle of Bantry Bay, in 1689, that admiral Herbert two days after, gave him a commission to command the *Dartmouth* frigate; immediately upon receiving which, he was ordered with some other ships to convoy some victuallers into Londonderry. The desperate attempt at relieving that place was carried into execution chiefly by his means. Captain Leake was sensibly touched with the sufferings of the brave men within the town, and although there was no man of war to assist him, the *Swallow*; which was the only one there, being too large to go up the river, he resolved upon making the attempt, and borrowed the *Swallow's* long boat to assist in cutting the bomb. This transaction has been already related†. We shall only add that major general Kirk, who commanded the land forces, and was stationed in such a manner, as to observe

* Page 382.

† Vol. II. p. 402.

the action distinctly, was so highly pleased with the conduct and bravery of it, that he gave Mr. Leake a company in his own regiment, which he enjoyed many years after he was a flag officer.

The importance of rescuing Londonderry from the hands of king James, raised the captain likewise in the navy; for the Dartmouth being paid off, he had the command given him of the Oxford, a fourth rate, of fifty-four guns, and on the 4th day of May in the following year (1690) was promoted by the admiral to that of the Eagle, a third rate of seventy guns.

The fatal action off Beachy-head soon after followed, and when the conduct of lord Torrington was enquired into by a court-martial, captain Leake was named as one of the board; in which situation he was extremely instrumental in procuring the acquittal of the admiral: for when Sir Ralph Delaval, who had been vice-admiral in the engagement, and was president on the occasion, expressed his opinion, that the court should bring him in guilty, captain Leake, undertook his cause, scrutinized minutely into every part of the evidence which tended to affect the admiral, and so fully justified him on every point, with which he stood charged, that he brought over the majority to acquit him; and when the ministry returned the sentence to be re-considered, they confirmed it under their hands.

In the battle off La Hogue, captain Leake eminently distinguished himself. His conduct on that memorable occasion, procured him the particular friendship of Mr. (afterwards admiral) Churchill, (with whom we have already made our readers acquainted)*, whom he bravely sustained, after the ship between them had been beaten out of the line.

* Page 303 of this Volume.

In this action the captain narrowly escaped death by a cannon ball, which passed between him and his brother-in-law Mr. Martin, as the latter was receiving orders on the quarter-deck. The next year he was preferred to the command of the *Offory*, a second rate, in which he continued until the peace of Ryswick. His father died in July 1696, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and although captain Leake was his only surviving son, and was then married, and had a son, yet the old gentleman bequeathed all his effects to his daughter Elizabeth; and left her sole executrix, leaving his son only one moiety of his books and instruments, the other moiety to his daughters son. The reason of this slight cast on a son, who had never been deficient in his duty to his parent, has been attributed to the ill success of his cushion-piece, which, as the inventor, he thought his son had not sufficiently exerted himself in making trial of*. But this conjecture may possibly be ill founded, perhaps his father thought that as captain Leake was making rapid advances in the line of his profession, his family would be thereby amply provided for, and that his father's fortune would be more serviceably bestowed upon his daughter and her issue. Be that as it may, our captain when this event happened was engaged with the grand fleet in the Soundings, and in his absence, his wife and friends without his privity or consent, procured for him his father's places of master-gunner and store keeper at Woolwich, by a recommendatory letter of admiral Russel's to lord Romney master of the ordnance. But on his return into harbour he handsomely excused himself from accepting of that place; not only as it was a very troublesome office, but as it interfered with his service in the navy, where he was now a senior officer.

* *Life of Sir John Leake*, p. 37.

After

After the peace of Ryswick, his majesty's ships being all laid up, and consequently the captains out of employment, Mr. Leake had thoughts of making interest for a place at the navy board; but admiral Churchill dissuaded him from it; and as soon as the latter was made a lord of the admiralty, he gave him a commission for the Kent of seventy guns, on board of which rear-admiral Hopson hoisted his flag, on the 10th of September 1699: and on the the eleventh of November in the same year, captain Leake hoisted a broad pendant at Portsmouth, being appointed commander in chief of all the ships in that harbour.

When a war was expected in 1701, admiral Churchill recommended captain Leake so strongly to the earl of Pembroke, then lord high-admiral, that when his lordship resolved to hoist his flag on board the *Britannia*, the finest first rate then in the navy, he appointed our hero his first captain, there being three captains to that ship. In this station he continued until the death of king William, when the intended expedition of the earl was laid aside, and prince George of Denmark, her majesty's consort, appointed lord high-admiral.

Upon the declaration of war against France, captain Leake was appointed to the command of a squadron which was fitted out against Newfoundland. He had also a commission appointing him governor of that island, and commander in chief of the land forces during his stay on the coast. The commodore sailed from Plymouth on the 25th day of July, and the success with which he was crowned has been already related *. As this was a very active service, so it proved a lucrative one to the commander, whose

* Page 79.

proportion of the prizes brought him a considerable sum of money.

On his return to England he was raised to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, and a few months after was farther promoted to be vice-admiral of the same squadron.

Vice-admiral Leake was on board the *Prince George* in the Downs, when the great storm blew, between the 26th and 27th days of November 1703, which proved so fatal to the English navy; notwithstanding, he had the good fortune to bring his ship safe into port, without having sustained any loss. This escape was chiefly owing to the precautions which he used the preceding day, at which time his experience in the aspect of the elements led him to foresee a rising tempest, and to take every possible precaution for breaking its fury.

In the month of February 1704, he received the honour of knighthood, which a year before had been offered him, but he then declined it. During this memorable year, he bore a very active part in the signal services which were performed by the British fleet: being concerned in the taking of Gibraltar, and afterwards greatly distinguishing himself in the action off Malaga. The next year he relieved Gibraltar, then besieged by the Spaniards by land, and the French fleet by sea*. The services which our admiral rendered the besieged, procured him the following letter from his highness the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, governor of the garrison.

"I cannot express the satisfaction of your appearance, so opportunely before this place, with the squadron of ships under your command, having been the entire reason of saving it from the attempt of the enemy, who were to attack us at that very night of

* Page 146, & seq.

your

your entrance, in many places at once, with a great number of men, which, with our small garrison, we had not been able to have held it out, against such a superior force."

His highness presented Sir John Leake with a gold cup on the occasion. This blow struck a panic all along the coast, of which Sir John received the following account, in a letter from Mr. Hill, envoy at the court of Savoy.

"I can tell you, your late success against M. Ponti, put all the French coast into great disorder and consternation, as if you were come to scour the whole Mediterranean. All the ships of war that were in the road of Toulon, hauled into the harbour, and nothing durst look out for some days."

Our loss during the whole siege, was only one transport, and the Terror bomb. Of the enemy were destroyed and taken, one ship of eighty-six guns, one of seventy-four, one of sixty-six, one of fifty-six, and two of thirty-six, one of thirty, two of twenty-four, and one of sixteen, besides merchant ships and smaller vessels, and above five hundred men killed, and twelve hundred taken prisoners. The French and Spaniards were supposed to have lost near ten thousand men before the place, whilst on the part of the besieged, not more than twelve hundred were killed, or carried off by sickness, during the six months siege.

We have elsewhere taken notice of the failure of the attempt upon the outward-bound galleons, caused by the treacherous impediments thrown in the way of Sir John Leake's sailing with his fleet, from the harbour of Lisbon to intercept them*. It may be necessary to premise here, that the true motive for this conduct in the Portuguese was, that their merchants and the Dutch had embarked more

* Page 168.

valuable merchandize on board those ships than the Spaniards had done. For this reason all possible obstructions were thrown in the way by both to retard the expedition, and when nothing else proved sufficient to check his motions, and he was actually under sail from the bay of Wares, he was stopped near the bar by several shot from St. Julian's castle, on pretence of an embargo, which he had procured himself to facilitate the attempt. Thus it was a hard task to perform the public service between the joint and separate intrigues of the Portuguese and Dutch, which almost upon every occasion were found to clash with the general interests of the allies.

The next signal instance of Sir John Leake's courage, conduct, and activity, was the relief of Barcelona*. The consternation into which the besiegers were thrown by a total eclipse of the sun, has been already mentioned, it may be proper here to add, that their fears are said to have been founded on the supposition that the heavens interposed to defeat and put to shame the designs of the French, because their monarch had assumed the sun for his device. In allusion to which the reverse of the medal struck by queen Anne on this occasion, represented the sun in eclipse over the city and harbour of Barcelona†. Charles, who was then king of Spain, and afterwards emperor of Germany, and the sixth of that name, had so strong a sense of the deliverance procured him by means of Sir John Leake's seasonable supplies, that he annually commemorated the event by a public thanksgiving on the 27th day of May, so long as he lived.

Dr. Friend in his account of the earl of Peterborough's conduct in Spain, has attributed to that nobleman the honour of bringing relief to the city,

* Page 173.

† Biographica Britannica, Art. Leake, note Q.

but

but Mr. Martin Leake, the biographer of our admiral, has set this affair in its proper light. The earl assumed the honour only of bearing the union flag as admiral, but took no command upon him, striking it again in Barcelona road as soon as they came there. All the measures for the relief of the place had been before concerted, and in a manner executed; since Sir John Leake had detached admiral Byng, and admiral Wassenaer, to make sail before the fleet, and they had anchored in the road, and actually thrown a good body of forces into the place, before one half of the fleet knew that lord Peterborough was on board; who indeed upon his arrival was pleased to approve of what had been done. The fact is, that the earl of Peterborough had a joint commission with Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and therefore, according to the rules of the navy, could not act separately from him; so that his hoisting his flag on board Sir John Leake's own ship, (the *George*) was an action without a precedent, an affront to the admiral, and a mean attempt to steal away his laurels. Although Sir John resented this ill treatment, yet he very prudently passed it over at the time, being intent to promote the service he was upon; and even in his letter to acquaint his royal highness with the relief of Barcelona, he takes no notice of it, but lets the matter subside till the next opportunity, which was the 15th day of May, when, having occasion to give his highness an account of his farther proceedings, he writes thus:

“ I forgot in my last to acquaint you, that my lord Peterborough came on board me, when I was within three leagues of this place [Barcelona] and hoisted his flag for that day, by virtue of his former commission, which I was not willing to dispute; though I cannot believe I shall be altogether discharged from my former orders, till the arrival of
Sir

Sir Cloudesley Shovel. I shall take the best care I can as well of the fleet, as not to have any disputes with his lordship about that matter. But his business on shore has taken up his time so much, that he has been pleased to leave every thing to me hitherto, though now I believe he intends to hoist his flag on board the Somerset to go by sea to Valencia."

As soon as Barcelona was thus rescued, Sir John sailed southward, and attacked Carthagena, which important place soon after submitted.

Sir John's next attempt was upon Alicant, where arriving upon the twenty-sixth of June, he summoned the governor and general to surrender, but he could not act till the arrival of the land forces under lord Peterborough, or till the militia should block up the city by land. On the 9th of July, the land forces arrived within four leagues of Alicant, and seconded the militia, which had taken quarters for some time in the neighbourhood of the place, but refused to form the siege, without the assistance of three thousand men, and other necessaries from the fleet. Every thing being settled by Sir John, now in commission with the earl of Peterborough, as commanders in chief by sea, the siege was opened in the evening of the twenty-first, and the place was taken by Sir John's sailors, who carried on a regular attack, and mounted a breach thought impracticable, without any assistance from the soldiers.

General Mahoni retired into the castle, which he determined to defend to the last extremity. But after a terrible bombardment, his cannon dismounted, and no water left in the citadel, he was obliged to capitulate on the twenty-second, and the castle also was given up to Sir John.

From Alicant he proceeded with the fleet to Ivica and Majorca, both which islands submitted to the English flag: after this success, leaving a sufficient
squadron

squadron to secure his conquests from any surprize, he returned with the foul ships for England, and arrived on the 18th of October at Spithead. On his coming to London, he was not only received with the loud acclamations of the people, but caressed in the most public manner both by the lord high-admiral and the queen; the former presenting him with a diamond ring of four hundred pounds value, and a gold hilted sword; and her majesty ordering him a gratuity of one thousand pounds.

The unhappy fate of Sir Cloudefley Shovel, caused Sir John Leake to be advanced to the rank of admiral of the white, and commander in chief of her majesty's fleet; soon after which promotion he returned to the Mediterranean, where he was extremely active in the service of his sovereign and her allies. He had the honour of convoying the new queen of Spain, consort of king Charles the Third, from Genoa to Barcelona; for which service her majesty presented him with a diamond ring of three hundred pounds value; after which he reduced the islands of Sardinia and Minorca. In the expedition against the latter of these islands, it happened, as it frequently does in conjunct expeditions, that the land and sea commanders each claimed to themselves the whole merit of the undertaking. Who was the first projector of the enterprize, is a matter extremely difficult to ascertain, such hints generally remaining state secrets, and are seldom imparted to the public. The facts on which reliance may be had, are; that major-general Stanhope asked the assistance of the fleet and marines for the reduction of Minorca, when the admiral was going on an expedition against the pope, which he thereupon laid aside, and arrived at Minorca with the fleet seven days before the land forces; during which interval he blocked up the enemy, cut off all supplies, and made some preparations for the landing

of the forces, which was effected without loss, as well as their cannon and mortars, within half a gun-shot of the castle by the seamen; who likewise mounted the cannon upon the batteries, with little or no assistance from the soldiers, and the gunners of the fleet were employed to manage the guns upon the batteries. The marines made no small part of the land forces; and fort Fornella was reduced by the ships, without the assistance of the soldiers, as indeed all the island submitted without any previous act of the land forces, except the castle of St. Philip, the attack upon which was conducted with success by the general. But the action was not otherwise considerable than by its consequence; for the next morning, after the battery was opened, the enemy beat a parley, and capitulated, with the loss on our side of only forty men killed or wounded; whence it is evident, that the general, though he had a principal share, yet he had not the chief share in this enterprize; which, in truth, was a joint action, in which the land and sea commanders amicably concurred; and no preference can perhaps be given to one, without doing an injury to the other: and the words *Insulas Majorcam, Minorcam, Sardiniam, & Ivicam ad deditionem compulsi*, are with equal truth and justice inserted in the epitaph intended to the memory of Sir John Leake, by his panegyrist Mr. Martin Leake, as those on the monument in honour of earl Stanhope, erected in Westminster Abbey:

Whilst Sir John Leake was employed in these essential services abroad, he was in his absence appointed one of the council to the lord high admiral, and likewise elected member of parliament, both for Harwich and Rochester, the latter of which he chose to represent, and in that parliament voted Dr. Sacheverel guilty*.

* Life of Sir John Leake, p. 409.

May the 22th, 1709, her majesty was pleased to constitute Sir John rear-admiral of Great Britain, as also a lord commissioner of the admiralty in December following.

From this time we find Sir John appointed for the home service, and cruising on the French coast. On the 8th of November, the earl of Pembroke having resigned the post of lord high-admiral, Sir John was appointed the second in the commission for executing that office. On the twelfth, he was superseded as admiral and commander in chief, by Matthew Aylmer, Esq; and in April following, upon the resignation of lord Orford, first commissioner, we find Sir John at the head of the admiralty, as chairman, or senior commissioner; for he persisted in refusing the post of first, as being an officer accountable for every thing done at that board.

Jan 10, he was rechosen for Rochester; and on the twenty-fifth of January 1711, appointed admiral and commander in chief of her majesty's fleet a third time; and, in May following, took the command of a squadron for the home service, but left it in the beginning of July, and went to sea no more that year.

On his return to the admiralty board, finding affairs in as bad or worse situation than before, he declined the business there as much as possible, by which means the place of chairman devolved on Sir George Byng. Soon after, applying to the ministers, that a first commissioner might be appointed, or that he might be allowed to resign his place there, and be put upon half-pay; that post was offered him, and at the same time to be created a peer, but he absolutely refused both, and desired to remain only in his station as admiral. This being reported to the queen, her majesty sent for him, and desired he would continue to do his duty at that board, as hitherto he

had done, till she had appointed a first commissioner, which she promised soon to do.

The French king having agreed to several previous articles, as a foundation for a suspension of arms, and amongst others, the giving up Dunkirk immediately into our possession, a fleet was appointed to assemble in the Downs for that service, and Sir John Leake appointed admiral and commander in chief of the fleet a fourth time, by commission, dated April the third, 1712. As soon as the previous articles arrived, which was not till June the twenty-fifth, Sir John received orders to proceed to the Downs, to take upon him the command of the fleet; where he punctually obeyed every direction for this service, and saw it accordingly done on the eighth of July. Being returned to the Downs, he struck his flag, and on the thirty-first repaired to London, having committed the care of the fleet to Sir Edward Whitaker. On which occasion it was observed, that as Sir John Leake had the good fortune to begin the war with the first remarkable instance of success, the expedition to Newfoundland, so he closed it honourably, by taking possession of the important fortress and harbour of Dunkirk.

Though her majesty had appointed the earl of Strafford, first lord of the admiralty, yet his lordship continuing at Utrecht, the weight of that board still remained on Sir John. On the seventh of March, 1713, he was again appointed admiral and commander in chief of the fleet, and continued such till the twenty-fifth of August following, though he never went to sea after the ratification of the peace.

At the death of the queen, he was left out in the first board of admiralty, after the accession of king George I. and on the fifth of November following, superseded as admiral of the fleet, and rear admiral of Great Britain, by Matthew Aylmer, Esq;

Upon

Upon issuing the writs for a new parliament, the ministry knowing that the citizens of Rochester would return Sir John as their member, prevailed with Mr. Best, his sister's husband, to dissuade him from accepting their voluntary election, which this artful brother-in-law contrived and effected accordingly, though not without Sir John's discovering the intrigue.

But as the national provision of half-pay as admiral was given to Mr. Aylmer, his majesty, by his warrant, under his sign manual, dated July the thirtieth, 1715, granted Sir John a pension of six hundred pounds a year, only upon the ordinary establishment of the navy, which by the persuasions of his friends, though it was a provision far short of his services, Sir John was at last prevailed upon to accept.

From the time of his declining the election at Rochester, Sir John wholly devoted himself to privacy, at his country house of Bedington in Surry, and also at a little box which he built on a spot of ground at Greenwich; but the prospect of the river gave him so much pleasure, that he afterwards enlarged the latter, and spent much of his time there. At both these places he was visited without distinction of party, as being a man universally esteemed.

He was this year chosen a third time representative for Rochester, when, at the request of the corporation, he gave them his picture, which was hung up among other admirals in the town-hall.

When a young man, he had married a daughter of captain Richard Hill of Yarmouth, by whom he had one only son. His father-in-law was lost on the Sand called Lemon and Oar, in the Gloucester, of which he was then captain, whilst attending the duke of York to Scotland, in 1682.

Captain Richard Leake, of whom we have had occasion

casion to say much in the former part of these memoirs, is said to have cast his grandson's nativity at the time of his birth, and pronounced he would be very vicious, very fortunate, and very unhappy; that he would get a great deal of money, but squander it away, and die young*.

These astrological divinations have in this age lost much of their credit; a certain share of credulity will even find a resemblance between the prediction and the event; however, this is a clear proof of the old man's temper, who did not like his son's match; neither did the fortune of the child confute their prognostic; for Mr. Leake informs us, that being made a captain in the navy very young, in a few years he got more by prizes, than his father did in his whole life; he married disgracefully; and having spent all about the time that his father retired, depended upon him for a support.

The inextinguishable profligacy of this man, obliged his father when he made his will in 1718, to devise his estates to trustees for the use of his son, during life; and if he died without issue, upon captain Martin and his heirs. This gentleman was first recommended to our admiral, by both their fathers, between whom a friendship had been contracted in Holland, which had subsisted for many years. Young Martin was Sir John's pupil, and some time after, he entered into the navy, where he chose to be with his friend, though in an inferior post, rejecting all other means of preferment. Being a midshipman at the battle of Battenburg, he had his thigh broke by a cannon ball, upon which his captain (afterwards Sir) Cloudesley Shovel, promised to provide for him: yet immediately on his recovery, he went on board the Dartmouth, captain Leake, whereby he lost se-

veral years in his promotion to a command. He was his lieutenant almost all the while, Sir John was a captain; and became still more closely united to him by marrying his wife's sister. The only separation afterwards was in 1697, when captain Martin commanded a bomb to Newfoundland; and in 1702, by the like command at Cadiz and Vigo: having in the former signalized his seamanship, and in the latter his bravery, he obtained the Launceston frigate, in which he was cruising in the channel when Sir John being appointed rear admiral of the blue, made choice of him for one of his captains; and in this station he continued till the end of the war, the inseparable companion of Sir John's fortune.

The retirement which Sir John had chosen could not but be irksome at first to a mind which had ever been employed in active scenes of life; but it soon became familiar and easy to him. He died on the 21st of August, 1720, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and the 30th day of the same month, his body was carried to the parish church of Stepney, and deposited in a family vault, under a monument, which he himself had some years before erected for his wife. Having now brought him to his grave in peace, we shall proceed to describe his person and character.

Sir John Leake was of a middle stature, well set and strong, a little inclining to corpulency, but not to incommode him in the least. His complexion was florid, his countenance open, his eyes piercing, and his address both graceful and manly. He had also a good constitution, hardly ever knowing what it was to be sick. His disposition was naturally cheerful, good humoured, and open. He was endued with very good natural parts, and though without learning, few men expressed themselves more properly, by writing or speaking. He was hot but not passionate, and maintained an even temper, unless

unless provoked by some extraordinary cause, yet he was soon pacified and ready to forgive, no man being more humane. In his dress he was neat and plain. In short he enjoyed a sound mind in a sound body.

Thus formed by nature, he seems to have been born to be a great admiral. For besides a genius for the sea, and propensity to a military life, he had all the endowments requisite to that end, which he improved by art and experience. He was certainly one of the best seamen this island has produced, being a perfect master of navigation both in theory and practice; of which his journals in his own handwriting are a proof; these he constantly kept after he was admiral of the fleet. Besides, he understood ship-building, gunnery, fortification, and the discipline of the land service, wanting only the practice to have made him both a good land officer and engineer. All these qualifications, with his long experience, gave him a superior judgment in his profession. He had also a head to contrive, and a heart to execute, and could endure great fatigue, being neither intimidated by dangers, nor deterred by difficulties. His courage was of the keener sort, without appearing rash: with this he enjoyed such a happy presence of mind, as enabled him to observe every thing that passed in time of action, and to apply the best directions, which he did at such times with a spirit, that gave life to his orders. On all occasions he was particularly careful to distinguish his courage, being of opinion that the bravest man would always conquer.

The same spirit he also shewed in councils of war, where, as he observed, a brave man might as soon be discovered as in battle. And when it was insinuated by some that an undertaking proposed was impracticable, Sir John usually replied, let us make it practicable. And before he proposed any enterprise,

prize, he was always well prepared to answer every objection, and even carry it immediately into execution. Thus all his undertakings were attended with that success, which justly gained him the epithet of the brave and fortunate.

By such heroic virtues, personal merit, and industry, he attained to the highest preferments in the navy, without ambition, but not without envy, from those only whom he rivalled in glory. He neither was proud of his own fortune, nor envied that of others. His mind was wholly set to perform the duty he was engaged in. He had a strict regard to his honour, and hated every thing mean: this made him detest all mercenary views; and the man who had his own private interest at heart, he thought could never faithfully serve his country.

By justice and discipline he maintained good order and oeconomy in the fleet, yet still without rigour, his natural temper inclining him to the merciful side: this made him ready to interest himself in the cause of an utter stranger, and disposed him to a generous regard of the common sailors, being truly sensible of the hardships they suffered, and therefore he mitigated them as much as possible. He loved a brave action, wherever he found it, and to such, without distinction of rank or party, he freely dispensed his favours: and this made him beloved by the seamen.

In respect of his principles, he was in all things for the happiness and prosperity of his country, both in church and state, as by law established. He served king James as far as was consistent with this principle, and upon the same principle he served king William and queen Mary, and queen Anne with bravery and fidelity. Having been all his life engaged in the cause of the protestant religion and English liberty; so no man could be more sensible of the benefits to this nation, by the succession in the house of Hanover.

When removed from all his employments, and in retirement he maintained his character with an equal temper of mind; conscious of a life spent for the public good, he had those pleasing reflections which the world can neither give nor take away.

In private life no man was a kinder husband, a better father, or a more sincere friend: in conversation open and affable; and never happier than in his family, and among his particular acquaintance. His good nature and generosity were shewn to all about him, or that had any concerns with him.

The vice of swearing, so generally practised among the sea commanders in his time, he was very rarely guilty of. He had a just sense of religion, as a member of the church of England, without bigotry or superstition: and not only caused divine worship to be duly observed, but countenanced it by his own example: he frequently communicated, and used private prayers, as there is reason to believe, from such having been found amongst his papers in his own hand writing. Besides his general beneficence, he did many particular acts of charity very privately.

To sum up all, he was a virtuous, humane, generous, gallant man, and one of the greatest admirals of his time: and one thing singular can be said of him, and of no other admiral, that he never betrayed any mistake, nor had his conduct ever publicly censured.

MEMOIRS of EDWARD RUSSEL, *Earl of Orford, First Lord of the Admiralty, &c.*

THIS noble seaman was grandson of Francis, fourth earl of Bedford, and second son of the honourable Edward Russel, Esq; by Penelope, daughter of Sir Moses Hill, of Hillsborough castle, in the kingdom of Ireland, and widow of Sir William Brooke. He was born in the year 1653, and brought up to the sea. Upon the death of his elder brother William, in 1674, he succeeded to the family estate; he was likewise gentleman of the bedchamber to the duke of York, but upon the death of the lord Russel, his cousin German, he retired from court. He was one of the first to sound the prince of Orange, concerning what might be expected from him, in support of the liberties of England, when king James, immediately upon his advancement to the throne, attempted to establish arbitrary power, and the Romish religion in England; he likewise accompanied the prince of Orange when he landed in 1688.

When king William was advanced to the throne, Russel was appointed one of the privy council, and in 1691 became admiral of the blue squadron; soon after which, he was placed at the head of the navy, and made treasurer of the same. The disagreement which subsisted between him and the earl of Torrington, has been already related*; this enmity was perhaps the chief cause of that severity, with which the ministry pursued the earl after his defeat off Beachy-head. Admiral Russel, not long after that miscarriage of the combined fleets, revenged his country's cause on their exulting enemies, by giving

* Vol. II. p. 407.

a total overthrow to the French fleet, under the command of Monsieur de Tourville, near La Hogue. In reward for this most decisive stroke, he was made first commissioner of the admiralty, and in the November following the commons in parliament came to a resolution, "that the thanks of their house be given to admiral Russel, for his great courage and conduct in the victory obtained at sea the last summer:" and in the next month they came to another resolution, "that admiral Russel in his command of the fleet, during the last summer expedition, had behaved himself with fidelity, courage, and conduct." and resolved, "that the said resolution be communicated to the lords at a conference*." On March 23, 1692-3, he was constituted treasurer of his majesty's chamber.

In 1694, he sailed with the fleet for the Mediterranean, where he prevented the designs of the French against Barcelona; and in March 1695-6, by his diligence also prevented the designed invasion in favour of king James, who lay with the French army near Dieppe; but Russel, steering over to the coasts of France with the English fleet under his command, disconcerted the scheme of the French setting sail for England. For these and other services, he was on May the 7th, 1697, created by king William, baron of Shingey in the county of Cambridge, viscount Barfleur in the duchy of Normandy, and earl of Orford in the county of Suffolk, with remainder of baron of Shingey, to the issue male of Letitia, his eldest sister; he was also made vice-admiral of England, and twice one of the lords justices, during his majesty's absence in Holland.

In 1699 he resigned all his posts upon an address of the house of commons, concerning mismanage-

* Collins's Peerage, Vol. I. p. 265. Edit. 1768.

ments in the navy, which charges were chiefly levelled at him. In 1701 the house impeached him of several high crimes and misdemeanors, particularly for advising the petition-treaty, which was represented as of the most dangerous consequence. He was charged likewise with taking great grants from the king, and with abuses in managing the fleet, and victualling it when it lay on the coast of Spain; with several orders given him during his command; and with procuring a commission for captain Kidd, who had committed piracies. The earl put in his answer in four days; wherein he declared, that he had received but two grants from the king; one a reverſionary grant for ſome houſes; the other, a grant of the remainder of a groſs ſum, amounting to about two thouſand pounds a year. He opened the affair of Kidd, in which he had acted legally, with good intentions to the public. He represented that his accounts whiſt he commanded the fleet, had been all examined and allowed; and he denied that he had adviſed his majeſty to the petition-treaty, but ſo far as he was any ways acquainted with it, objected to it, and gave his opinion againſt it. Upon his trial June 23, 1701, his lordſhip was unanimouſly acquitted of the articles charged upon him, and the impeachment diſmiſſed. His accounts were likewiſe, in 1703, juſtified by the houſe of lords.

Under the reign of queen Anne, lord Orford again came into power. He was appointed by her majeſty one of the commiſſioners for the union, and of her majeſty's privy council; and in 1709, upon the earl of Pembroke reſigning the office of lord high-admiral, was offered that poſt, which he reſuſed, but accepted of that of firſt lord of the admiralty, which he held until the change of miniſtry, the year following.

On the death of queen Anne, king George appointed

pointed him one of the lord's justices, till his arrival from Hanover; after which, he was appointed of the privy-council, and again made first commissioner of the admiralty.

His lordship married the lady Margaret, third and youngest daughter to William the First, duke of Bedford, his father's brother; but had no issue. He died at his house in Covent Garden, on the 26th day of November 1727, and in the seventy-fifth year of his age. By his will he bequeathed that noble town residence, to Thomas Archer, afterwards lord Archer, who had married his great niece; but this valuable bequest has been lately alienated by Andrew the present lord Archer, his only son.

Bishop Burnet styles lord Oxford, a man of much honour and great courage, who had good principles, and was firm to them. Later writers have charged him with having privately countenanced the cause of the abdicated king. That a secret correspondence was carried on between most of the leading men in the administration under king William, and the court of St. Germaine, seems to be supported by very strong proofs, not like the imputations thrown on some other characters, and which we have occasionally taken notice of in this work*, which are founded merely on the credit of a superficial statesman, and an unknown adherent to the cause of James. That Russell should profess himself a well wisher to the late king, whilst it did not interfere with the real interests of his country, is not at all wonderful, or disgraceful. Had he entertained no such sentiment, he would have been wanting in that regard which was due to an old master; but his professions of attachment, are represented as being ambiguous and suspicious; so that those who entered most warmly

* Vol. II. p. 305. Vol. III. p. 30.

into

into the interests of the abdicated king, were cautious of making Ruffel the depository of their secrets, and many suspected that he only professed an attachment in order to betray the cause. Thus much is certain, that however tender he might be of doing an injury to James, he was ever hearty against the natural enemies of his country, the French, whose marine he ruined by a single stroke, in such a manner, as no one commander before or since his time has been able to effect; although many battles have been fought at sea, where the commanders have gained a greater share of honour, because their force was less, and their conflict harder.

END of the THIRD VOLUME.



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